Nürnberg's Indecent Burial—*Malcolm Hobbs*

THE Nation

UPSALA COLLEGE LIBRARY

*December 3, 1949*

# War in the Pentagon

## *I. What's All the Shooting For?*

BY BERNARD BRODIE

*

## CHRISTMAS BOOKS

Writers in America, II - - - - - - - - *Stephen Spender*
Europe, East and West - - - - - - - - *Raymond Swing*
Vittorini's "In Sicily" - - - - - - - *Robert Penn Warren*
A Very Rare "Schoolmaster" - - - - - - - *Irwin Edman*
Three Forms of Magic - - - - - - *Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.*
A String of Pearls - - - - - - - - *Joseph Wood Krutch*
Outstanding Records of the Year - - - - - - *B. H. Haggin*
Books of 1949: a Selected List

20 CENTS A COPY EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865 7 DOLLARS A YEAR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# There are Harper Books for Everybody

## ELEANOR ROOSEVELT'S
## *This I Remember*

"Wonderful . . . sheer entertainment . . . It is as a human document that I have read and felt it, and thus it will be read and felt by generations of Americans."—VINCENT SHEEAN, *N. Y. Herald Tribune Book Review.* "Only a great woman could have written it."—ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, *Saturday Review.* 25 pages of family pictures. $4.50

## DAVID E. LILIENTHAL'S
## *This I Do Believe*

A book of affirmation and hope. "A master plan for everyday democracy."—*Washington Star.* "The kind of philosophy Mr. Lilienthal expounds may well be a more powerful weapon in our defense than the furious and expanding atom. And it has the advantage of not being a secret weapon."—R. L. DUFFUS, *N. Y. Times Book Review.* $2.50

## CONGRESS ON TRIAL

*The Politics of Modern Law-Making.* By JAMES M. BURNS. "A first-rate contribution to the discussion of a problem of first-rate importance."—*N. Y. Times.* $3.00

## WORLD FAITH

*The Story of the Religions of the United Nations.* By RUTH CRANSTON. "Contains the kind of stuff all of us should read and digest."—*N. Y. Times.* $3.00

## JACK BELDEN'S
## *China Shakes the World*

"One of the best books ever published about the Chinese . . . an explosion of history as exciting as a novel of suspense . . . Belden has re-created the lives of many dozens of unforgettable Chinese: a wandering beggar writer, a revengeful farm wife, a village landlord, a guerrilla assassin . . . a magnificent picture."—RICHARD E. LAUTERBACH, *Saturday Review.* $5.00

## VIRGINIA COWLES'
## *No Cause for Alarm*

"It seems to me to tell Americans just what they ought to know about England in a way that they can enjoy and understand."—WALTER DURANTY. "As rich as a fruit cake—as informative as the World Almanac. She is so impeccably right."—JOHN W. VANDERCOOK. $3.75

## KENTUCKY ON THE MARCH

By HARRY W. SCHACTER. How Kentucky did something about its shortcomings. "One of the most excellent stories of democracy at work that I have seen."—ELEANOR ROOSEVELT. $3.00

## DAY OF JUDGMENT

By DAVID CUSHMAN COYLE. A wise, mature approach to world problems. "Intelligent, urbane."—*The Nation.* $3.00

**At all bookstores**

**HARPER & BROTHERS • 49 East 33rd St., N.Y. 16**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 169 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • DECEMBER 3, 1949 NUMBER 23

# The Shape of Things

FROM THE SEEMING CONFUSION OF THE first week's discussion of the Jerusalem question at the United Nations a number of facts emerge. First, Israel and Jordan, though opposed to each other, are united in opposing the principle of internationalization either as set forth in the 1947 partition resolution or in the proposals of the Conciliation Commission. Second, the Arab states are divided on the Jerusalem question. Egypt and Lebanon prefer to support the 1947 resolution rather than serve the territorial ambitions of Jordan. Syria tentatively favors the Conciliation Commission plan. Iraq is opposed to both. Third, the Christian world is also divided. The Vatican continues to insist on the sanctity of all Jerusalem and demands its internationalization in terms of the original resolution, while the Primate of the Church of England joins the swelling group of those who agree that there is nothing sacred about the eighty-nine-year-old New City of Jerusalem and that it therefore need not be put under U. N. control. Even once ardent advocates of internationalization like France now question the capacity of the U. N. to impose its rule on a divided city whose two communities are determined to resist. Giving dramatic emphasis to the inability or unwillingness of the U. N. to make its decisions good was the presence at the conference table, as recognized spokesman for Arab Jerusalem, of the representative of Jordan, whose Arab Legion, defying the U. N. resolution, seized and still holds Jerusalem by force of arms.

*

IT IS CLEAR FROM ALL THIS THAT IF THE United Nations wants to achieve its objective of protecting the Holy Places, it must find a plan acceptable to both Israel and Jordan. No plan now formally before the Assembly would win such acceptance, but a compromise which would satisfy the essential purposes of the U. N. is available. This is the proposal presented to the General Assembly on November 2 by fifteen distinguished American leaders and outlined and indorsed in *The Nation* of November 12. It asks for an international curatorship for the Holy Places throughout Israel and Arab Palestine, supervised by a United Nations Commission representing Catholics, Protestants, Greek Orthodox, Moslems, and Jews. The New City of Jerusalem would become part of Israel, and the old city would be incorporated into an Arab state. This plan is not in accord with the proposals set forth by either Israel or Jordan. But it accords with the basic realities of the situation. It protects the Holy Places and meets the legitimate demands of Israel and the Arabs. Moreover, it is a plan which can be implemented. It behooves those delegations concerned both with the prestige of the United Nations and with peace in the Jerusalem area to present these proposals for the formal consideration of the Assembly. Unless such a plan is adopted, there seems little likelihood that any constructive decision will emerge from this session.

*

PUBLIC SERVICE IN THE UNITED STATES pays little in money and much in abuse. Both factors operated last week to deprive the federal government of two of its most talented and desperately needed servants. Clark Clifford, in debt after six years in the navy and as aide and adviser to the President, feels bound to return to a private law practice that can yield him five times his present salary. David E. Lilienthal, after almost twenty years in government, is ready to drop the burden of insult and false accusation with which unscrupulous politicians have rewarded him for his magnificent administration of the TVA and the atomic-energy program. Lilienthal came through the fire of the McKellars and the Hickenloopers with increased prestige, but there is no doubt that the present period of quiet was intended only as an interlude between savage skirmishes, and the little men who have been harassing him are gleeful that, even though vindicated, he is on his way out. Lilienthal and Clifford are among the last few gems in the Truman crown. The President will be under fierce pressure from the right to appoint a chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission less determined than Lilienthal to keep the power of the split atom out of the hands of either the military or the private-utilities crowd. With the withdrawal of Clifford he loses at the same time the chief source of pressure within his official family from a position slightly left of center. After getting off to a very dubious start in advising Mr. Truman on the railroad strike in 1946, Clifford has been the mainstay of the Fair Deal, the author of its best Presidential speeches, and the originator of its most impressive strategies. One can only hope that as pragmatic a man as the President, appreciating the success of the Clifford approach, will cling to it, aided by the rear

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## • IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS
The Shape of Things 529
Playing with Fire *by Freda Kirchwey* 531

ARTICLES
The Absent "Big Sixth" *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 532
Nürnberg's Indecent Burial *by Malcolm Hobbs* 534
The War in the Pentagon: I. What's All the Shooting For? *by Bernard Brodie* 535
Mexican Oil and American Dollars *by Leonard Engel* 538
Italy: Socialism Subdivided *by Mario Rossi* 540
Everybody's Business: Intractable Africa *by Keith Hutchison* 542

BOOKS AND THE ARTS
Essays and Asides. Writers in America, II *by Stephen Spender* 543
Notes by the Way *by Margaret Marshall* 544
Europe, East and West *by Raymond Swing* 546
From the Underground *by Robert Penn Warren* 547
A Very Rare "Schoolmaster" *by Irwin Edman* 548
A String of Pearls *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 549
The Spanish Story *by Ralph Bates* 550
"Three Forms of Magic" *by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.* 550
Books in Brief 551
Drama *by Margaret Marshall* 551
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 552
Books of 1949: A Selected List 553

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 339 *by Frank W. Lewis* 555

*Editor and Publisher:* Freda Kirchwey

*Executive Editor:* Harold C. Field
*Foreign Editor* J. Alvarez del Vayo — *Literary Editor* Margaret Marshall
*Associate Editor:* Robert Bendiner
*Financial Editor:* Keith Hutchison
*Drama:* Joseph Wood Krutch — *Music:* B. H. Haggin
*Assistant Editor:* Jerry Tallmer — *Copy Editor:* Gladys Whiteside
*Assistant Literary Editor:* Caroline Whiting
*Staff Contributors*
Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Maxwell S. Stewart, J. King Gordon, Ralph Bates, Andrew Roth

*Business & Advertising Manager:* Hugo Van Arx
*Director of Nation Associates:* Lillie Shultz

*The Nation*, published weekly and copyright, 1949, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 18, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas. *Subscription Prices:* Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year; Foreign and Canadian $1. *Change of Address:* Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.
*Information to Libraries: The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index

guard of Brannan, Chapman, and Ewing, against the persuasions of the Snyders, Sawyers, and kindred mediocrities now surrounding him.

⁂

IT IS HARD TO SAY WHICH MAKES LESS sense, the original seizure of American Consul General Angus Ward by the Chinese Communists or the bitter attack of five Republican Congressmen on the State Department for its handling of the incident. We are forced to write off the jailing of Ward as one of those mysteries of Communist behavior beyond the understanding of the "bourgeois" mind. Certainly it was the least likely way of bringing about a quick recognition of the new regime. It is at least possible, however, that the Communists had the simple motive of making us "lose face" in the East, whatever the immediate political cost to themselves. For the reaction of the Congressmen there is not even this much in the way of reasoning. What appears to irk them to the point of demanding Secretary Acheson's scalp is the fact that he appealed to thirty other nations to express to the Peiping authorities their concern over a "direct violation of the basic concepts of international relations." Clearly this was preliminary to submitting the matter to the United Nations, and since we had no relations with the Chinese Communists, the move was logical as well as a welcome effort to act in concert with other nations. To the Representatives, however, it was "one of the most humiliating chapters in American diplomatic history." Imagine, they said, appealing to "thirty other nations, including Switzerland, Panama, Cuba, Siam, and the Soviet Union"—a tribute those nations will fully appreciate. It seems we should have taken "firm action" instead. Such as sending a detachment of marines to meet the massed strength of the Chinese Red Army and drag Ward out "dead or alive," as one fearless newspaper demanded? But practical considerations aside, if appeals to international action are humiliating, just how are we to use the U. N.? Or do the gentlemen regard the very existence of that institution as a standing insult to our national virility?

⁂

THE BRITISH TRADE-UNION MOVEMENT WAS confronted by a difficult situation when devaluation increased prices of many essential imports, with a consequent rise in the cost of living. Yet as Sir Stafford Cripps pointed out, it was vitally important to avoid a corresponding increase in wages; otherwise higher production costs would destroy the opportunity to use cheap pounds as the lever to lift dollar exports. That is to say, some decline in real wages was necessary to obtain a balance of payments if imports were not to be cut to the point at which lack of raw materials would create heavy unemployment. These hard facts presented

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the trade-union leaders with an awkward dilemma. On the one hand, they headed organizations whose primary function was to defend, and if possible improve, the living standards of their members. On the other hand, the trade unions are the backbone of the Labor Party, and a split on fundamental policy between them and the Cabinet would jeopardize a government that has brought tremendous benefit to the workers. No wonder that the General Council of the Trades Union Congress debated the question long and anxiously! Now it has reached a decision that does credit to its sense of responsibility for national welfare. It has urged members to accept a wage standstill until January 1, 1951, subject to possible adjustments in the case of the lowest-paid workers, provided that the retail index, now 112, does not rise above 118. Although the council has no power to force its policy on affiliated unions, the declaration is bound to prove influential and will greatly strengthen the hands of the government. It will disappoint those opposition strategists who have been seeking to promote schisms inside the labor movement, hoping thereby to enhance prospects for a Tory victory at the coming general election.

*

TWO YEARS AGO WE PUBLISHED A REPORT of the trial of the *Sentinel,* a small Jewish magazine in Chicago, in a libel suit brought by ten leading American hate mongers. The *Sentinel* had printed a press release which had quoted a telegram urging the Attorney General to order a retrial of the twenty-six defendants in the aborted mass-sedition trial of 1944. The telegram had referred to these defendants as "traitors." As a result, Joseph E. McWilliams, Elizabeth Dilling, and eight of their fellow-travelers sued the *Sentinel* for nearly $200,000; the case came up in the Superior Court of Cook County, Illinois, before Judge Donald McKinlay, late in 1947. "For ten days," wrote our observer, "the ghost of Adolf Hitler stalked the courtroom. The malevolent hostility of the leading rabble-rousers in the country against the *Sentinel,* the Jewish people, and all civilized concepts . . . was displayed in open court." At the end of this demonstration the jury returned verdicts in favor of four of the plantiffs for a total of $24,100. Our readers will be happy to learn that on November 18 the Illinois Court of Appeals, in a unanimous decision, reversed the original judgment. The appellate judges stingingly criticized the failure of Judge McKinlay "to hold plaintiffs or their counsel to an orderly trial of the case" and declared that they "found it difficult, at first, to believe that the evidence and arguments [of the first hearing] form a part of the . . . record of a trial in an American court." It is interesting to note that the New York press, so fascinated in recent months by other courtroom proceedings, totally ignored this extremely important ruling.

# *Playing with Fire*

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IN A mood of frustration and with several expressed reservations and warnings the French National Assembly accepted the agreement between the Bonn government and the three major Western powers. This means that the integration of West Germany with the rest of Europe will move fast, dismantling will taper to an end, and the new Western-sponsored regime will be able to rebuild the German merchant marine, establish consulates abroad, and join many trade and other international organizations. For the time being it will have no regular diplomatic service, since its foreign policy is still subject to Allied supervision, nor will it be permitted to rearm; but no sensible person imagines that "a thousand years" will elapse before the logic of the cold war puts Germans under arms and Germany into the Atlantic Pact. Since France, right to left, fears a rearmed Germany at least as much as it fears Russia, the misgivings of the Assembly only echoed the feelings of the people, and it will take more than the reassurances expressed by General Bradley and Secretaries Acheson and Johnson to remove them.

Over here their words may sound more convincing than they did in Paris, for this country has from the start taken the view that Germany, at almost any cost, must be "put on its feet" and taken off the American relief rolls. So obvious is the need of bringing German industry back into the European economic structure that the dangers inherent in the process as it has gone on have been generally minimized. And so Americans were not as shocked as were most Europeans to read Mr. Acheson's glowing praise of Dr. Adenauer and the West German government. As "practical" people they regard the necessities of the time as dictating the course that has now been accomplished, and they are only glad to know that Dr. Adenauer is a moderate man, willing to cooperate with the Allies.

What these people refuse to understand is what Europe understands very well: the Bonn agreement is only one more step in a long and tragic process which began when Russia and the West first carried their struggle for power into the smoldering ruins of Hitler's Germany and began to outbid one another for the goodwill of the defeated enemy. In this struggle the cold war has reached its most dangerous crises, and today, as our foreign editor points out on another page, the conflict over Germany poisons East-West relations on every issue in and out of the United Nations. For the industrial and military power of a revived, nationalist Germany will again dictate the fate of Europe. And Russia and America, instead of agreeing that German nationalism must never be permitted to reestablish its

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cadres and rebuild its economic might, have willingly cooperated with the most dangerous elements in both parts of Germany.

In the East, Russia's German Democratic Republic has amnestied all former Nazis. Ex-Nazis are also being reinstated in technical jobs, in the police, in industry. No doubt under Communist control these known reactionaries will be less able to run things their own way than in the West, but what is important is the fact that they see in Russia's ambitions an opportunity to fulfil their own—and Russia is willing to encourage their nationalism for its ends. Whether Russia is also converting the *Volkspolizei* into an East German army in preparation for the withdrawal of its own occupation forces is not known. This was charged last week in a Western-licensed newspaper, *Abend*, and since then has been denied by Russian sources in Berlin. It may not be true, but it soon will be if the West German state develops along the lines we can expect.

In Bonn the same processes are going on, though less openly and crudely. The United States has ended the trials of Nazi war criminals and soft-pedaled the trials of Nazi industrialists, as Malcolm Hobbs tells us in his article on page 534. Under cover of a democratic set-up a tight reactionary regime is crystallizing, with the promise of outright fascist developments in the early future. The split between the government and the Socialists was superficially on the issue of nationalism, on which the Social Democrats took a more intransigent position than Adenauer. But behind Schumacher's flag-waving is a bitterness toward the West that stems in large measure from the refusal of the occupation chiefs —especially the Americans—to back Socialist and labor forces in their demand for better conditions and especially for nationalization of the heavy industries now securely in the hands of pre-war, pro-Nazi private interests. The suspension of Schumacher from Parliament for his sharp attack on the government reveals an arbitrary and authoritarian attitude which jibes badly with Adenauer's wordy support of democratic processes. In short, the new Bonn government, even in these earliest days while it is still clearly on trial as a custom-made Western-type democracy, is exhibiting qualities that Weimar, weak as it was, developed only after years of pressure from both extremes.

*The Nation's* German correspondent, Carolus, has described this process in sharply revealing dispatches during the entire past year. Recent reports in the New York press bear out his charges in detail, showing the close connections that exist between the Bonn government, including Dr. Adenauer himself, and the leaders of German heavy industry. While this goes on, American labor and American liberals in general keep very quiet, fearing no doubt to upset the Western applecart and give the Russians a chance to pick up any ripe fruit. Their indifference is extremely dangerous and will have a quite contrary effect. For under the regime sponsored and financed by Washington the voice of German labor will be little heard, and the interests of the "common man" will diverge more and more from those of his rulers. And when that happens, as Drew Middleton said in last Sunday's New York *Times*, "the West cannot count on him for support, political or military, against the East. . . . All the impressive machinery constructed to resist aggression is no stronger than the will of the people . . . to support it. We seem to forget that it is the people who fight wars, cold or hot."

### Military Aid for Spain?

This week's meeting in Paris of the Defense Chiefs of the Western nations has given rise to new rumors that Spain may soon be included in the Atlantic Pact.

In its next issue *The Nation* will publish an exclusive article on **Spain's Strategic Value** by MANUEL ESTRADA, former Chief of Staff of the Spanish Republican Army.

# *The Absent "Big Sixth"*

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

*Flushing Meadow, November 25*

THE General Assembly has arrived at that stage, to which each of the former sessions has accustomed us, when the predominant concern of the delegates is: when do we pack up and go home? For some of them Christmas looms larger than any world issue. It is a stage at which successes and failures are recapitulated. The atmosphere of confidence in which the Assembly opened, with President Romulo christening it the "Assembly of Peace," makes a superficial review of the events which have taken place only the more depressing. The tone of the discussions continues to be one of controversy and bitterness. When Mr. McNeil exclaims dramatically that "time runs short" in which to arrive at an agreement, his voice sounds theatrical and unconvincing, because it is well known that his government considers going along with the United States more important than anything else, and has done very little to avail itself of whatever opportunities have arisen during the past few years to try to reach such an agreement.

I have been reproached for writing that to certain delegates the most important thing was not to reach an agreement but precisely to prevent agreement at all costs. Yet an observer need only have followed the discussion on the former Italian colonies in the Political Committee and later at the plenary session to realize that one central thought dominated the whole problem —the exclusion of Russia from any formula that might

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be accepted. As long as the Russians were kept out, any formula would be more or less satisfactory.

When it came to an exchange of courtesies, the Russians on their part were not to be outdone; in a tone of supreme disdain Mr. Vishinsky dismissed the representative of evaporating Nationalist China, Dr. Tingfu F. Tsiang, and his delegation as intruding "dwarfs." Nor did he moderate his language in characterizing the intentions and methods of the West in regard to the control of the atom. The spectacle was not all tragedy, however. From time to time the gallery was rewarded with a comic interlude, such as the moment when John Sherman Cooper, speaking for the United States on the admission of new members, seriously and eloquently described Portugal and Jordan as model democratic countries.

But if outwardly the impression produced by the Assembly at this moment is one of frustration, beneath the surface some encouraging symptoms are to be found. Conversations, the theme and scope of which are known only to the participants, are taking place every day. We may yet witness a repetition of what occurred at the last Assembly, when delegates and correspondents were eagerly following the arguments and clashes in the committees and plenary sessions while Mr. Jessup, the United States delegate, and Mr. Malik of the Soviet Union were quietly laying the foundation for the only important agreement reached to date, the suspension of the Berlin blockade and air lift.

If similar conversations are taking place at present, they may begin at any one of several points, but in order to produce substantial agreement they must end by dealing with Germany. The highly significant report put out by the Quakers, maintaining that war between the Soviet Union and the United States is not inevitable, coincides with a new and no less significant campaign launched in *Izvestia,* the Soviet government newspaper, on the possible coexistence of capitalism and communism, in which the United States is asked to take the initiative toward agreement in three fields—Germany, trade with Eastern Europe, and the United Nations, including atomic energy. Of the three fields Germany is in my opinion at this moment the most decisive. Thanks to the mistakes committed by both sides, the question of Germany today dominates world politics. Germany is the absent "Big Sixth" at the General Assembly of the United Nations. And even though it is absent, and rarely mentioned in the public discussions, it is Germany which is uppermost in the thoughts of the leading powers, retarding an agreement.

All other questions—the present deadlock on atomic energy, which last Wednesday's vote instructing the Big Five and Canada to continue secret consultations has only reestablished, the question of the Italian colonies, indeed every major issue on the agenda of the General Assembly—would be approached differently if an agreement on Germany were in sight. No contradiction, no mistake of the post-war period can be compared with this: that a Germany whose defeat cost five terrible years has in the space of four more years been made the pivot and arbiter of Europe. In 1945 I felt reassured when I heard from a direct diplomatic source that Stalin, discussing Germany with Benes, had said that not even a Communist Germany would inspire him with confidence. It was one more proof of the political insight of the Russian Prime Minister. Until the historical forces of aggression which had led Germany, from one generation to the next, to plunge the world into armed conflict were radically exterminated, no form of government would be a sufficient guaranty. Since then that point of view has been modified; the development of international events has led Russia to revise its position. Today neither Russia nor the West wishes to give up its strangle-hold on its piece of Germany, as if that were the key to its own security.

The policy of the Western powers under the leadership of the United States has just led to an agreement with the Bonn government whose most likely outcome will be the rearming of a restored Germany. The visit of Secretary of State Acheson to Frankfurt, the most important act of homage rendered thus far to the newly established state, has scandalized public opinion throughout Europe. Vainly do the French priests, on orders from the Vatican, try to placate the hostility throughout France toward American policy in Germany. That hostility is rising like a wave from one end of France to the other, strengthening De Gaulle on the one hand and the Communists on the other, and it will end by smashing the present Cabinet to pieces. Thus, paradoxically, after the sacrifice of billions of dollars in an attempt to halt unrest and dissipate the attraction of communism, American policy is suddenly introducing into the politics of France and the Benelux countries the most explosive issue imaginable—that of the resurgence of Germany. All the efforts of British-American propaganda to present the Allied-Bonn pact, signed last Wednesday, as a guaranty against the rearmament of Germany are useless. They were destroyed by Paul Reynaud, who assured the French Assembly on Thursday that the only logical outcome of the present policy was a rearmed Reich. The Socialist leader, Schumacher, can dramatically label Dr. Adenauer "Chancellor of the Allies," but the truth is that the pact is a German victory, not an Allied victory.

One thing at least has been indicated by this session of the General Assembly, in both the public discussions and private comments in the corridors, and that is that it will not be possible to keep the cold war going indefinitely. The future offers peace or war—real war. Let each side make its choice.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Nürnberg's Indecent Burial

BY MALCOLM HOBBS

*Washington, November 25*

WASHINGTON'S new attitude toward the West German state was emphasized here last week three times in one day. Secretary of State Acheson, fresh from Bonn, Frankfurt, and West Berlin, described to a press conference the warmth with which he had been received by the German people and praised the ability of the German leaders. Less than two hours later, at an off-the-record gathering, a high American military official told some of the same correspondents that a new German army was desirable from the military point of view but that it was a State, not a Defense Department, problem. The final report of the American chief counsel at the Nürnberg war-crimes trials, released by Secretary of the Army Gordon Gray on the same day, warned that "an alarming resurgence of authoritarianism" was sweeping Germany.

Mr. Acheson's remarks got a big play in the press. The off-the-record remarks of the military leader turned up indirectly as "informed official viewpoint" in dope stories and columns. But Brigadier General Telford Taylor's documented warning that Germany is becoming less rather than more democratic was virtually ignored. Neither the New York *Times* nor the *Herald Tribune* gave a line to it the next morning, and throughout the country mention of it was rare.

How is one to account for this silent end to a story which began in 1945 amid resounding publicity? Admittedly war crimes have become old stuff, but the Taylor report was more than just another war-crimes story. Not only did it sum up a whole chapter in American jurisprudence, but it directed much implied and some outright criticism against American and Allied policy in occupied Germany—which in itself could be considered newsworthy. In addition, it made public about two dozen formerly secret documents and messages, usually a source of great interest to Washington reporters.

The army can be held partly responsible for the press treatment of the Taylor report. It made the story available but not easily available. Taylor's report was submitted to Secretary Gray in August. On November 8 a short army news release announced that one copy of the document was in an office at the Pentagon, where it could be studied by the press. The release date for stories was set for November 17, after which the one copy was sent to the Government Printing Office. The normal procedure on such reports is for the press attachés to prepare digests of the text with selected quotes, but this was not done. Some reporters who did ask to look at the report were told that it was unimportant.

The army's soft-pedaling of the Taylor report was in line with Washington's efforts to win the Germans to the side of the West. Nürnberg and denazification have become an embarrassing heritage of past policy. Telford Taylor, a young and able government attorney now retired to private practice, had become well acquainted with the slow freeze over the past two years. Last month the Defense Department announced that the thirteen unpublished volumes of the Nürnberg proceedings would not be issued for lack of funds, then reversed its decision as a result of the protests it received.

However, the press was also at fault in not taking the necessary trouble to get the story. Either remarkably few reporters made the effort or editors spiked their stories. Perhaps they were confused by the contrast between what our top diplomat-soldiers said and the facts disclosed in the Taylor report.

Besides pointing to the "alarming resurgence of authoritarianism" in Germany, General Taylor revealed the roots of the gradually softening American policy toward Nazi industrialists. Five prominent industrialists were slated for the dock at Nürnberg after the international trial of the military and political leaders, but as early as July, 1946, his report says, Washington was opposing such a trial. The report publishes for the first time the text of a note from Secretary Byrnes to Taylor setting forth American policy as follows: "The United States cannot afford to appear to be in the position of obstructing another trial. . . . If the plans for a second trial break down because of disagreement among the other three governments, or because one or more of the three will not agree to conditions or requirements which are really necessary from an American standpoint, well and good. But if the other countries definitely want a second trial and are prepared to meet our requirements, we had better play along with them."

Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson, chief American prosecutor at the first Nürnberg trial, is shown to have had a pretty clear view of the future in 1946. In a secret memo to President Truman on the subject of Nazi industrialists, Jackson wrote: "I also have some misgivings as to whether a long public attack concentrated on private industry would not tend to discourage industrial cooperation with our government in maintaining its defenses in the future while not at all weakening the Soviet position, since they do not rely upon private enterprise."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Taylor protested against the failure to get at the big representatives of German finance. In a memo to Ben Cohen, at that time State Department counselor, he wrote: "To be sure, Schacht and Funk are on trial. But they, if I may be permitted a domestic parallel, are more like Jesse Jones or Morgenthau than J. P. Morgan or the du Ponts." In his report he criticized the British for opposing the prosecution of Alfred Krupp and refusing to cooperate in a trial of the Flick and Krupp interests.

His report also shows how Nazi war criminals have benefited from the cold war. A number of notorious Nazis were held at Nürnberg for eventual prosecution in countries that had been occupied by the Germans. Some of these countries became Russian satellites. "Owing to developments in the international situation a number of these transfers did not take place, and the individuals in question have never been brought to trial at all," Taylor declared. He also drew attention to the light sentences given to three Nazis at the last Nürnberg trial in April, adding that they "would surely have been more severely punished in 1946 or 1947." And, without comment or explanation, he stated that it "became necessary to eliminate" from the prosecution list certain Nazi officials "who were clearly connected with the program for extermination of Jews known as 'the final solution of the Jewish problem.'" The current drive to "play down" the war-crimes trials "will inevitably strengthen the hands of those Germans who do not want a democratic Germany," he warned. "There has been an unfortunate lack of planned effort to utilize the documents disclosed at the trials so as to advance the purposes of the occupation. The least we can do is to insure that the documents which expose the true nature of the Third Reich are circulated throughout Germany."

It is perfectly plain that Washington is accepting the West German state on its own terms. With Germany being ardently courted by the world's two great powers, perhaps the most that can be hoped for is an honest facing of facts. As Taylor puts it, "If the situation in Germany is indeed such that the Germans will not bring to trial men such as those who were deeply implicated in the extermination of European Jewry, the sooner that fact is apparent and generally understood, the better it will be for all concerned."

# *War in the Pentagon*

## I. WHAT'S ALL THE SHOOTING FOR?

BY BERNARD BRODIE

WHEN a conflict has reached the dramatic intensity which marked the October proceedings before the House Armed Services Committee, the question which tends to displace all others in the public attention is simply: "Who won?" In terms of future policy the answer can scarcely be in doubt. Not only did the air force win hands down—with scarcely any effort from its own members—but the navy was ignominiously routed.

Nor can there be any question that forensically the navy deserved to lose. It had struck out blindly in all directions, making assertions which ranged from the purely fantastic—for example, Commander Eugene Tatom on the atomic bomb—to the patently inconsistent. In between were some sound arguments, but the whole shaky structure of the navy's attack was bound to collapse under the first well-aimed salvo, which was delivered most efficiently by General Bradley. It would be kind to say that the circumstances which precipitated the public hearings were so unexpected that the navy's case had to be hastily improvised. But the navy has been long preoccupied with its grievances, and the investigation was bound to elicit a maximum discharge of emotion and a minimum of logic.

This is not to say that on the issues debated the navy's position was intrinsically weak. But undoubtedly the navy muffed a golden opportunity to serve the nation's interests by forcing a critical examination of certain decisions affecting our security. It muffed that opportunity partly because it is a proud institution and much of its pride is in being peculiar. Its image of itself is reflected in the incantation uttered before the committee: "What is good for the navy is good for the nation!" Any truth in such an assertion must be equally applicable to the air force or the army. When the navy is ready to accept the thesis that what is good for the nation is good for the navy, it will be in a far stronger position to exert a beneficial influence on American strategic planning.

Such a change in outlook would be heralded by readiness to accept changes in more basic matters than any discussed before the committee. It is a fantastically complex problem to decide rationally how limited sums for the military establishment should be allocated among

---

*BERNARD BRODIE is a member of the Yale Institute of International Studies. In coming issues the "Battle of the Pentagon" will be analyzed further by Max Werner, Fletcher Pratt, and others.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the three services, but we may assume that anything which approximates a 1-1-1 division is just too pat to be right. The frequent references, by President Truman and others, to the necessity of maintaining "balance" among the several services should be regarded as sheer nonsense in so far as a quantitative balance is implied. One cannot "balance" military categories which are unlike in character and in function except in terms of specific predicted needs. There are indeed strong reasons for suspecting that a sound allocation of our military appropriations would mean for a long time to come much larger funds for the air force than for the navy. Such a conclusion the navy cannot now accept.

THE controversy took the form of a dispute over the carrier versus the B-36 partly because military appropriations are not handed out to each service to do with as its wisdom and technical knowledge direct. Each sum of money is designated for a specific purpose. On the other hand, when the grand total of such appropriations approaches something like fifteen billion dollars, effective limits are imposed not by any fixed conception of strategic needs but by the politicians' estimate of what the Budget—that is, the taxpaying voter—will stand. A service which wishes to protect or expand its own budget will therefore be tempted to attack specific items in the budget of a sister service.

The air force had an additional reason for opposing the navy's large carrier. Its monopoly of strategic bombing was apparently being threatened. Such a consideration is irrelevant from any rational point of view but not from a service point of view, and the intensity of air-force feeling about the carrier becomes explicable only if we see the issue as a jurisdictional dispute. The navy, in addition, has good reason to suspect that the air force would like to see it deprived of its air arm entirely. One hears in Washington and elsewhere a lot of inspired stage whispers about the absurdity of having two separate air forces. And in so far as "unification" has become a fetish rather than a practical device for introducing more efficiency into our military planning, such innuendoes are likely to be effective.

Let us be clear about this point. There is no harm in having two separate air forces, or even ten, so long as the military justification for their separateness outweighs whatever advantages might accrue from their being unified. The assertion that land-based aircraft can do everything that carrier-based planes can do, and do it better, is plainly preposterous. And in so far as they serve a predominantly naval function, even land-based planes should properly come under the organization which is responsible for naval operations. The Royal Air Force found it necessary to set up in Coastal Command a separate division of its forces for naval work; there is no evidence at all to suggest that this command would not have functioned as well or better had it been in the hands of the Royal Navy. There is plenty of evidence to suggest that R. A. F. control of procurement of carrier aircraft had a disastrous effect on the efficiency of British carrier operations.

THE case for a large carrier which might have at least the incidental function of launching multi-engined bombers for attacks on land targets must be judged by different criteria. Here the *function* is not naval, but every air-force officer would agree that the handling of a carrier and its aircraft requires such distinctive skills that it must be left in the hands of the navy—so long as it is considered a worth-while military enterprise at all. Naturally, the assignment of carrier planes to specific missions over land should be coordinated with air-force planning or even controlled by the air force, but what is unification for if such problems cannot be suitably solved? The air force, however, has no intention of being saddled with such problems, since it denies completely the utility of the large carrier.

Whatever the merits of the question, it is clear that they were not by any means adequately canvassed by the Secretary of Defense at the time he ordered abandonment of construction on the United States. Against the charge that he gave the order on the same day or the day after he received Admiral Denfeld's memorandum indorsing the carrier, Secretary Johnson defended himself by saying that Admiral Denfeld had communicated his views—presumably *orally*—"several days in advance of their formal transmission to me." This is at best a pretty cavalier way for a civilian who professes no special military competence to dispose of so important and complex a strategic decision. And it is to be doubted whether even the navy memorandum on the subject, quite apart from the question of its bias, was based on the kind of thoroughgoing research and analysis necessary to help Mr. Johnson to reach valid conclusions on the military worth of the carrier.

It is curious that a type of vessel so recently developed and with so spectacular a record of performance in World War II should in the public mind already be classed with the battleship as obsolete. The "vulnerability" of the carrier has been on the whole greatly exaggerated. Certainly it is not confirmed by World War II experience. The carrier's unique virtues cannot, for a variety of reasons, be offset simply by designing more range into land-based planes. Since carrier aircraft are available for use against land as well as marine targets, the fact that the Soviet Union has no great surface navy is relevant but by no means conclusive. The use of the carriers would undoubtedly increase the flexibility and capabilities of our combined air arms. The real question is whether the extra margins of utility are worth the cost.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

One point connected with this issue needs to be stressed. There has been altogether too much rigidity in the assignment of "roles and missions" to the separate services. The value of real unification would be realized precisely in the breaking down of such rigidities. The question ought not to be, "Who should do what?" but always, "How can the particular job in hand best be done?" The stresses of war force us to make the necessary adjustments, as, for example, in the Doolittle raid launched from the decks of the Hornet. Why should we exclude such adjustments from our planning?

THE air force might have a much stronger case against the carrier if it were not parading the B-36 as the weapon which makes the carrier unnecessary. One need not obscure the issue, as the navy did, by questioning the military value of strategic bombing. No military person has denied the desirability of continuing to manufacture atomic bombs, and so long as we make them we must have vehicles to deliver them. Even without the atomic bomb, we should need large bombers for strategic bombing. The only valid question is therefore: Is the B-36 a good strategic bomber; more particularly, is it a good carrier for the atomic bomb?

It is difficult to see how it can be regarded as good. At ordinary altitudes it allows to any modern interceptor a speed advantage of at least 100 miles an hour. At altitudes where jet fighters tend to lose their speed and maneuverability advantage—40,000 feet is the figure usually cited—the bombing error even with the most perfect imaginable bombsight is likely to be so great as to make even the atomic bomb relatively ineffective. Possibly the guided bomb will change this estimate. Air-force officers stress that the B-36 must be regarded as an "interim weapon" but assert that it is the best available now. That is simply not true unless one insists upon ranges of 10,000 miles, at whatever tactical cost. Thus new questions are raised: Under what circumstances are we likely to need ranges of 10,000 miles in combat aircraft? What are the probabilities of such circumstances arising in a war taking place in the relatively near future? And if such circumstances do indeed arise—which would be the case if we lost the United Kingdom as well as Western Europe—is there not some other method of delivering atomic bombs which would not entail such grave tactical sacrifices as use of the B-36?

Such questions are not answered by facile slogans concerning the ability of the B-36 to "carry its logistics with it." If the B-36 is not what Admiral Radford called it, "a billion-dollar blunder," the air force has still to prove its case. As an approach to the problem of delivering the atomic bomb, it is not only backward-looking but niggardly. To get an atomic bomb on a target is worth much more than the total cost of a B-36. If the air force could calculate even roughly the permissive limits of expenditure on a single such sortie and consider the various procedures and instruments available right now within those limits, it would unquestionably come out with something far more imaginative and effective than the B-36. And the range of feasible solutions would be greatly expanded if it were willing to consider those which involved collaboration with other services. In the characteristics which are distinctive to it the B-36 seems to have no other purpose than to free the air force of reliance upon the navy even for supply.

Seligson

*Secretary Johnson*

Secretary Johnson's statement before the committee that a basic war plan exists today which has the unanimous approval of the three chiefs of staff can mean only that they have agreed upon a plan for war-time disposal of something like their present forces. To accomplish such agreement could not have been difficult. The real problem is to reach agreement upon future development, and to do so without vitiating the criteria by which chiefs of staff are selected. It is obvious that a navy die-hard cannot function as a Chief of Naval Operations. It is equally plain that the national interests are not served by manipulating membership on the Joint Chiefs of Staff in order to reach agreement.

This writer is convinced that Admiral Forrest P. Sherman is a man of the highest integrity and one of the two or three ablest senior officers in the navy. He is probably a better man for his present post than Admiral Louis Denfeld was. But the circumstances under which the latter was deposed are not only distasteful but dangerous as a precedent. In basing their action on the principle of "civilian control" those responsible for his demotion betray a demagogic cynicism.

The principle of civilian control has never been really imperiled in our democracy, even in the days of McClellan. It was certainly not imperiled by Admiral Denfeld. Congressional control, which is a part of civilian control, is imperiled when an officer, upon being requested to do so by a committee of Congress, cannot present his views frankly without fear of reprisals. In the present case officers are being obliged to sacrifice their personal integrity and Congress to abdi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cate its jurisdiction so that the superior judgment of Louis Johnson can be vindicated.

If any one speech before the committee was really unfortunate, it was that of General Omar Bradley, who as chairman of the Chiefs of Staff is supposed to be a neutral elder statesman among the military planners. General Bradley's tremendous prestige is well deserved. His prepared statement reflected his brilliance, but it was in this instance the kind of brilliance which one finds in the brief of a first-rate trial lawyer. It was full of bias and heaped unnecessary humiliation upon the admirals. General Bradley undoubtedly wrote his prepared statement himself, and it is a pity that he did so. His venting of spleen simply confirmed all the navy's charges—which might otherwise have appeared childish—that the representation of their views on the Joint Chiefs of Staff was less than adequate.

Secretary Johnson's statement, on the other hand, in contrast to his actions, was all sweetness and reasonableness. A man in his position must inevitably make difficult decisions which will arouse service resentments, but those decisions need not reek with partiality and arbitrariness, not to mention arrogance. That the man who bears a larger responsibility than any other one person for the present poisoned atmosphere among the services should come out of the hearings with his prestige enhanced is one of the ironies of the Washington system.

# *Mexican Oil and American Dollars*

BY LEONARD ENGEL

EVER since Mexico, some fifteen months ago, began negotiations with the United States concerning a $203,000,000 credit to be used to expand its nationalized oil industry, it has experienced all the trials of a veteran seeking a homebuilding loan from an unfriendly bank. The negotiations have now come to a halt, and while they are to be resumed, the credit is not likely to be granted in full, or in a reasonable time. Yet oddly enough, it was the banker, not the borrower, who proposed the loan. The project originated with the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the Eightieth Congress as a means of developing an emergency oil source nearer the United States and less vulnerable to military attack than Saudi Arabia. Mexico is, of course anxious for the credit, which will stimulate its whole economy, and did not fail to point out to Washington its great oil potential. But the initiative came from the United States, and that makes the State Department's stalling and bullyragging doubly exasperating to our neighbor to the south.

A year ago last August, when the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce was investigating the United States' fuel sources, the entire membership and staff paid a visit to the principal Mexican oil fields. Later that fall Representative Wolverton of New Jersey, the chairman, and a subcommittee visited Mexico again. A report was then presented urging a $470,000,000 Export-Import Bank credit to enable Mexico to buy American equipment and so raise its oil production some 250 per cent in seven years. This report was strongly indorsed by the Defense Department. Last spring, at the instance of Representative Crosser of Ohio, who had succeeded Wolverton as chairman of the committee, Senator Antonio Bermudez, head of the Mexican national oil company, came to Washington to open formal talks. These went on for five weeks, after which the discussion was conducted through regular diplomatic channels. The State Department refused to consider half the projects, scaled down the initial figure to $203,000,000, and systematically avoided any definite statement of intent with respect to the rest. The negotiations were angrily terminated by Mexico on receipt of a note from the State Department dated July 6.

The contents of this note have never been disclosed officially, but everyone in Mexico City knows what it said. As a condition of the loan the United States demanded that Mexico pay the dubious claim of a small oil firm, the Sabalo Transportation Company, which had been expropriated in 1938. This claim for from $200,000,000 to $400,000,000 was supposed to have been settled in 1942 by the Mexican-American commission set up to dispose of such questions. The United States further demanded that the Mexicans revise their oil laws so that their country would become once more the happy hunting ground of the major American oil companies.

The State Department has denied that it laid down either of these conditions. A few weeks ago, however, Representative Wolverton, now the ranking minority member of the Commerce Committee, disclosed that a campaign reaching into the State Department was being conducted on behalf of Sabalo by those specialists in defending doubtful business enterprises, Sullivan and Cromwell, John Foster Dulles's old law firm. Moreover,

---

*LEONARD ENGEL is a frequent contributor to* The Nation, *writing usually on new developments in science. He started his research into Mexican oil while covering the U. N. Scientific Conference on the Conservation of Resources.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

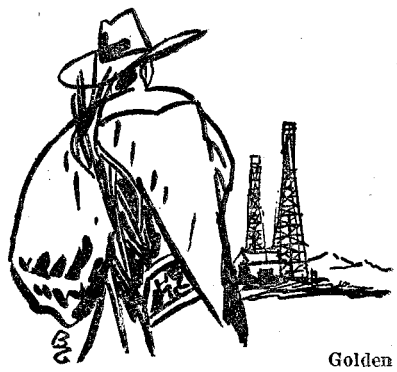
a gang of oil lobbyists—among whom are two Democrats with otherwise good records, Senator Kerr of Oklahoma and former Governor Hunt of Wyoming—are working night and day to turn the loan into a lever for upsetting the Mexican oil statutes.

Representative Wolverton revealed the facts about Sabalo in a House speech reported by the Associated Press and International News Service but printed in no New York paper except the Spanish-language daily, *Diario de Nueva York*. He said that Allen Dulles, the Senator's brother and present head of Sullivan and Cromwell, telephoned him for an appointment a few days after he returned from Mexico. Edward G. Miller, Jr., then a Sullivan and Cromwell partner, now Assistant Secretary of State for the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, kept the appointment and asked him to insist, in his committee's report, on the payment of Sabalo's claim. Miller later repeated his proposal in writing and on other occasions pressed the same demand on the State Department.

UNITED STATES support for the Sabalo claim has made Mexican hackles rise as have few recent twists in Mexican-American relations. To begin with, a strong odor of fraud clings to the origin of the Sabalo oil concession. Sabalo's holding consisted of the creeks and waterways in the richest Mexican oil field, Poza Rica, which had been developed by the British Shell Company. As Mexicans tell the story, there was a falling out between Shell and President Ortiz Rubío. Prompted by the timely gift of a bullet-proof limousine, Ortiz Rubío declared that the creeks and waterways in the Shell concession remained in Mexico's federal jurisdiction and handed them over to Sabalo. Whether this yarn is true or not, the Sabalo Company, whose owners have never been fully identified, obtained a rich concession substantially without cost. Sabalo did little to develop the holding. Its claim does not represent funds invested but the putative value of the oil that might have been recovered if the company had been allowed to remain in possession and if it had put real money into its operations. Similar claims for untapped oil were made by all the expropriated companies—and thrown out by the claims commission, which incidentally awarded Sabalo only $896,000, less than any other American company save one, though the Sabalo claim was the largest.

The United States-Mexican agreement setting up the claims commission specified that its decisions were to be final, but Sabalo appealed its award to the Mexican courts. The suit has been rejected twice in the lower courts and is now before the Mexican Supreme Court, from which a final ruling is due any day. The Sullivan and Cromwell campaign is resented in Mexico as plain pressure tactics to offset a decision which is expected to be against the American company.

This brings me to the reason why Jersey Standard, Sabalo, three other American companies, and Shell were expropriated eleven and a half years ago, and why Mexico would rather do without the loan than change its laws to let Big Oil back. As the oil companies knew before they entered Mexico, the concessions were illegal, having been granted by corrupt Mexican Presidents in violation of Mexican law, which unlike American law holds that sub-soil rights do not accompany land ownership but are vested in the nation and are inalienable. The six companies were expelled, however, for refusing to abide by a decision of the Mexican Supreme Court concerning wages and for persistently ignoring Mexican rights and interests. Immediately after the First World War, for example, when the world demand for oil fell off, Big Oil shut down its Mexican wells almost completely, wrecking the Mexican economy overnight, while continuing production elsewhere at a higher level. One day oil exports were paying for needed imports; the next, oil exports stopped and there were no dollars or pounds to pay for goods already en route. "Mexico will never again allow itself to be put in a position," a Mexican engineer declared, "where a phone call from New York or London can put it out of business."



Golden

THE Mexican oil industry has been operated since 1938 by Petroleos Mexicanos, a government-owned corporation which does everything from looking for new oil sources to selling at retail. Pemex inherited a sick industry. No exploration or development work had been carried on since 1921. After the market recovered, the international companies found the government less pliable and the public aroused over company police and discriminatory hiring policies; so they turned to other countries. A number of refineries and two rich fields, Panuco and Golden Lane, were permitted to run down. Pemex has also been handicapped by lack of technical personnel and a boycott by both foreign marketers and equipment suppliers. A war-time United States loan for building an urgently needed aviation-gas refinery was long held up in the State Department, against direct orders from President Roosevelt. But production turned upward in 1945 and has been rising 10 to 15 per cent annually since. It is now nearly 70,000,000 barrels a year—almost double what it was at the time of the expropriation.

Pemex's expansion has fueled the post-war boom in Mexico. The country has virtually no coal. Oil and gas

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

turn the factory wheels and run the irrigation pumps; kerosene, burned in stoves sold by Pemex below cost, is largely used for cooking in place of scarce charcoal. One of Pemex's achievements is the just-opened gas pipe line connecting Poza Rica and Mexico City, built of pipe fabricated in Mexico from Mexican steel. New exploration has uncovered a huge gas field in the northeastern provinces—probably the other half of the fabulous gas bubble under southeastern Texas—and greatly extended the reserves of the Isthmus field in the extreme south, which oil men believe will eventually rival the biggest United States fields.

Under Senator Bermudez, who has been general director since 1947, Petroleos Mexicanos is also winning financial stability. The company pays higher wages than any other Mexican industry except rubber manufacturing and provides a long list of social benefits besides; its tax payments, a third of its gross business, form a sixth of the Mexican government's revenue; all obligations have been met on the dot. At the same time, until the price was raised to provide expansion funds previously looked for from the loan, Mexicans had the cheapest gasoline in the world—about thirteen and a half cents a gallon.

With the aid of the loan, which was to be used mainly for refinery equipment, pipe, and drilling rigs, Pemex had hoped to reach an annual output of 165,000,000 barrels by 1956, a level otherwise unattainable before 1962 or 1963. This would provide Mexico with a welcome source of foreign exchange in the form of a much greater exportable oil surplus than it has at present. It is this prospective surplus that underlies the demand of the major oil companies for a sweeping revision of Mexican oil laws.

Contrary to the general impression, Mexico has not categorically excluded foreign participation in its petroleum industry. Two American companies, in fact, are now drilling in Mexico—Cities Service and C. I. M. A., an association of eight independents in whose organization Ed Pauley had a prominent part but in which the chief stockholder now is Ralph K. Davies, war-time petroleum administrator under Harold Ickes. Both companies are guaranteed a substantial share of any oil they find. However, producing wells are to be operated by Pemex, in whose hands control of production, and therefore of the export surplus, is firmly vested by law. That Mexicans should control the production and export of their chief resource may seem very reasonable, but it will never be acceptable to the cartel-minded international oil companies, which are resolved that any sizable quantity of oil appearing on the world market shall be under their control. The section of Mexico's 1938 petroleum statute which they most want revised, and which Mexico is least willing to change, is that dealing with production control.

After the failure of negotiations in July, President Truman tried to reassure President Alemán by declaring in a press conference on September 1 that the oil loan would be granted. Mexico, however, will make no sweeping concessions to obtain it. It is quite capable, if necessary, of proceeding for some time under its own steam.

# *Italy: Socialism Subdivided*

BY MARIO ROSSI

*Rome, November 18*

THE resignation of Giuseppe Saragat and the other Social Democratic ministers from De Gasperi's Cabinet had a strange purpose. It was probably the only time in parliamentary history that a group of ministers resigned, not in protest, but to demonstrate their solidarity with the government. The country might have been amused had not two men been killed and seventeen seriously injured in a clash between police and peasants on the same day. For the Social Democrats to be absorbed in their never-ending disputes while such things were happening seemed to the workers a sign of complete unconcern for their problems.

At present several Social Democratic groups coexist in Italy. The International Socialist Conference tried for a long time to unite them into a single party and finally brought about an agreement to that effect. A convention was to be called to draft a program for the new party, and it was hoped that this would put an end to the violent dispute between the followers of Saragat, who favor collaboration with De Gasperi and support the Atlantic Pact, and the Silone-Romita group, who oppose both. But when Saragat saw that he might be defeated at the convention, he decided not to participate. Instead, he called a convention of his own followers, which he is sure to dominate, and resigned temporarily from the Cabinet to dedicate his full time to propaganda. Silone and Romita went ahead with their plans to form a new, unified Social Democratic Party. A manifesto urging its creation states: "It would be as senseless to proclaim the ideological and political autonomy of so-

*MARIO ROSSI is* The Nation's *regular correspondent in Italy.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cialism only to aid and support a conservative regime, and collaborate in the reconstruction of capitalistic monopolies against the interest of the people, as it would be to proclaim the political independence of the country and then subordinate its interests to any imperialistic influence."

Evidently there can be no compromise between this line and that of Saragat, who believes that collaboration among middle-of-the-road parties, as practiced up to now, is perfectly consistent with Socialist ideals and is the only way to bar the road to communism. Saragat is annoyed that such simple truths need to be explained. He believes it to be self-evident that he, and only he, represents true socialism in Italy, that the other Socialist leaders have either sold out to Moscow or are unpractical idealists. The only trouble with this view seems to be that it is shared by a steadily decreasing number of persons. A majority of the Social Democratic deputies, for instance, have signed a resolution severely criticizing his policies.

DE GASPERI is extremely anxious to have the Social Democrats continue to participate in his government and has done his best to persuade public opinion that nothing serious has happened. He spoke of a *crisetta*, which means a little crisis of no consequence, and refused to fill the posts vacated by the resigning Social Democratic ministers, assigning them temporarily to other Cabinet members. This was to show that he expected Saragat to come back after his party's convention. Saragat, too, pretended that no serious problem had arisen and reiterated his loyalty to the present government. He emphatically denied that his party would join the opposition and rejected as nonsense the suggestion that the moderate non-clerical parties now sharing power with the Christian Democrats should form a coalition at the next election.

The Premier's eagerness to have Saragat back in the government is understandable. Backed by a party which controls an absolute majority in both chambers of Parliament, he could of course do without the support of other political groups, but he is shrewd enough to realize that the inclusion of the Socialist, Republican, and Liberal (rightist) parties allows him to claim that his Cabinet represents the Third Force, the moderate elements in Italy, and to act accordingly. He thus widens the range of his supporters and becomes acceptable to Socialist governments abroad—but without losing an iota of his power. In return for so valuable a service, the Social Democrats received considerable publicity and a few portfolios in the Cabinet.

De Gasperi is also aware that the collaboration of the Social Democrats is regarded with great favor by the State Department, which knows that many Americans would resent giving political encouragement to an exclusively clerical foreign government. It is worth recalling in this connection that the first split in the Socialist Party, over the issue of collaboration with the Communists, was financed and encouraged by a powerful American labor union. Nor has De Gasperi forgotten his financial backers, the big industrialists of northern Italy, who were only too pleased to see their policies furthered by a Social Democratic Minister of Industry.

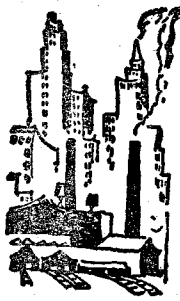
Saragat's eventual return to the government, which no one doubts, will not mark the end of De Gasperi's worries. The new Social Democratic Party may quite possibly prove to be stronger than Saragat's. In that case what value will the latter's collaboration have? Saragat will be in no position to maintain that he represents the "true Socialists" of Italy. Moreover, De Gasperi will not be able, in those circumstances, to maintain that his government represents all the moderate forces of Italy, and, worse still, he can hardly exploit further his contention, which proved invaluable in the elections, that only Communists and fellow-travelers are to be found in the opposition.

The new Social Democratic Party, which will almost surely be launched this December, may offer serious competition to Saragat, not only because its policy of non-collaboration with Christian Democracy and of opposition to the Atlantic Pact is popular, but also because of the international prestige of its promoters. The best-known is Ignazio Silone, the writer. The most dynamic is Giuseppe Romita, a Piedmontese engineer who was Minister of the Interior at the time of the first post-liberation national election. Many other supporters of the new group are drawn from the former Action Party, which played a vital role during the resistance.

However important in the political game of check and counter-check the creation of a new Social Democratic party may prove to be, its numerical strength will not be great enough to change the present trend of Italian politics. As long as the cold war continues, De Gasperi will receive the anti-Communist vote. The conditions which make Social Democracy strong in other countries are absent in Italy. Reforms are greatly needed, but De Gasperi cannot carry them out and at the same time continue to get the conservative vote. In consequence, workers and farmers are inclined to support an opposition party which has the will and the means to fight for changes.

The Social Democrats, though they are united in their anti-communism, have no concrete program of Socialist action. Forever bickering over personal issues and never agreeing on the meaning of socialism, the party has little attraction for the masses, who are interested only in what socialism can do for them. No wonder the Social Democrats have been steadily losing votes at every election.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



# EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

## Intractable Africa

BRITAIN'S most ambitious colonial-development scheme—the East African peanuts project—has run into very serious trouble since it was launched in 1947. Nearly all the capital originally allotted to it has been spent, but only a fraction of the planned acreage has been cleared. Crop yields have been sadly below estimates, and the first harvests produced only enough peanuts for future seed requirements. Not a trickle of vegetable oil to improve Britain's fat-deficient diet is yet in sight.

It would not be fair, however, to call the scheme a complete failure, even though its progress has fallen far short of the high hopes of the men who initiated it. Foremost among these is John Strachey, Minister of Food, who made the decision to undertake the project and who has been its enthusiastic backer. Now he is under very heavy attack by the Tories, who have never forgiven him for deserting the upper classes into which he was born and for placing his great abilities at the disposal of the workers.

Mr. Strachey cannot evade responsibility, but after studying official reports on the situation I feel that, while his judgment may be questioned, he has experienced extremely bad luck. His chief errors, perhaps, were too little skepticism in weighing the recommendations of his expert advisers and too much optimism in his frequent discussions of the scheme. Public disappointment at the ill-success of the venture is in proportion to the great expectations that it aroused.

The idea of mass-production of peanuts in East Africa by mechanized farming methods was conceived soon after the war by Frank Samuel, managing director of the United Africa Company, a subsidiary of the huge Unilever combine, the world's largest manufacturers of soap and margarine. He suggested that the serious world shortage of vegetable oils, a matter of great concern to his business, might be eased by bringing into cultivation vast areas of virgin land in East Africa which remained unoccupied because they were covered with bush which served as breeding places for the deadly tsetse fly. But, he added, the job was far too big for private enterprise.

Mr. Strachey was sufficiently impressed by this proposal to refer it to an expert mission consisting of a Colonial Office official and two authorities on African agriculture. After investigations on the spot they enthusiastically indorsed the scheme and, indeed, urged that development should be on an even larger scale than had been envisaged by Mr. Samuel. On the basis of their report Mr. Strachey was authorized by the Cabinet to go ahead. The enterprise, the announcement of the decision made clear, involved considerable risks; on the other hand, the need for larger fat supplies was urgent, and the scheme promised important benefits to a backward colonial area.

The launching of the project was intrusted to a "Managing Agency," a subsidiary of the United Africa Company, whose plans for the 1947-48 season called for clearing and planting 150,000 acres. This target proved a great deal too ambitious. The time and labor required to establish base facilities in the wilderness were underestimated; congestion in the small East African ports delayed supplies; mechanical equipment obtained from war-surplus stocks—all that was available—was not always suitable and suffered a high rate of breakdown. Selection of Kongwa in the central province of Tanganyika as the chief site of the initial effort also proved unfortunate. The thorn bush with which the land was infested was found to have exceptionally tough roots, and the abrasive qualities of the soil played havoc with plow blades. As a result less than 14,000 acres were cleared by the spring of 1948 and only 7,500 were actually under cultivation. Moreover, the cost of land preparation was about ten times as much as the original estimate.

On March 1, 1948, management passed to the Overseas Food Corporation, a publicly owned concern established by Act of Parliament. Its report for the period ending March 31, 1949—the occasion for the present furor—claims that "measured against intractable Africa, progress was in fact considerable." Nearly 50,000 acres had been planted, partly in peanuts and partly in sunflowers, a soil-preserving crop with oil-bearing seed; the harbor and railroad construction which had to precede development in southern Tanganyika, the most promising area, was going forward; a decentralized and smoother organization had been inaugurated; an elaborate health service catering not only to employees but to thousands of other Africans had been established. But the report had many troubles to relate—language difficulties which hindered proper labor utilization, serious drought at Kongwa, insect pests and plant diseases, inadequate transport facilities, even frequent breakages of telephone lines by interfering giraffes!

Critics have naturally fastened on the corporation's accounts, which show that over $65,000,000 has been spent, particularly as these were accompanied by a statement of the independent auditors to the effect that proper books have not been kept. This is a serious charge and one that has not yet been completely met. It would appear, however, that the trouble dates back to the first year of operations, for as the directors of the Overseas Food Corporation pointed out in a memorandum to Mr. Strachey at the time they took over, the Managing Agency had failed to set up either a proper stores system or an adequate organization for controlling expenditure.

The British press has had many caustic comments to make on this report, but nevertheless the consensus of opinion is that the work should go forward. There is no reason to suppose that the project is basically unsound. What experience has made clear is that too much was attempted too quickly. Far more thorough research and planning should have been undertaken before operations started. Undoubtedly the waste lands of the Dark Continent do hold considerable promise, but their development presents special problems which must be patiently explored. As the *Spectator* of November 11 put it, "'Rushing at Africa' is a fatal course."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## Essays and Asides

## WRITERS IN AMERICA, II

BY STEPHEN SPENDER

THE American writer is the most isolated in the world. Unless he happens to come from Boston or New York, he is isolated in his youth in the West or Midwest or South, and his isolation amid a kind of society which does not recognize the values of the artist may remain throughout his life as the valid basis of his work; he may always secretly remain ashamed of being a writer and not a "tough guy." He is isolated by the lack of cultural centers, corresponding to Paris and London, in which he may find a spiritual home. At a certain epoch, indeed—after 1920—Paris was a far truer center of American literary life than any city in America. He is isolated by success, which exploits his literary reputation and at the same time lifts him socially and economically both out of literature and out of his early sensitive experiencing, and he is isolated by failure, which may tie him down to academic and critical work and make him wish to intellectualize his talents to a point which is dangerous to his creativeness.

Yet the greatest achievements of American writing come out of this very isolation, this original loneliness within a deeply experienced environment where literature is derided, this later isolation within a success or unsuccess where it is still misunderstood. Intense loneliness gives all the great American literature something in common, the sense of a lonely animal howling in the dark, like the wolves in a story of Jack London, the White Whale chased across a waste of seas in Melville, the sensitive and exploitable young American, seeking his own soul through ruined European palaces, of James. The recurrent theme of American literature is the great misunderstood primal energy of creative art, transformed into the inebriate, the feeling ox, the sensitive, the homosexual, the lost child.

When W. H. Auden explained that the reason he lived in America was because he could be alone, he was at his most profound. The matey, the democratic country is the natural home of homeless wanderers, incommunicable voices pouring themselves out without hope of reaching an audience, on reams of paper. In passages of "Finnegans Wake" there is a kind of reaching out of the Irish wanderer to America, and perhaps the great, passionately formed yet formless masterpieces of this century, of James and Proust and Joyce, have a kinship with American literature. The loneliness of the American writer is significant because it corresponds to a very deep American experience, the kind of experience which James touches on in his portraits of the millionaires dying side by side in the sketch of his last novel, "The Ivory Tower."

This isolation explains a perplexing feature of American writing—its emphasis on violence, brutality, decadence. Reading the novels of Faulkner, Hemingway, Steinbeck, and other contemporary American writers, one has the impression not of a vital, progressive society but of the Russia of Dostoevski and Chekhov. Yet one can hardly accept this as a witnessing of America. For America *is* vital, young, optimistic, and in this way opposed to tired and disillusioned Europe. Or rather one America is like this. There is another America which is after all very old, very much attached to Europe. A conflict is implicit in the civilization of America, which is not really a young nation growing up in virgin country but a collection of people with roots in very old countries living the life of a young country. Thus there is a tendency always in American culture to jump from the pioneering to the overcivilized: and within this tendency also a reaction against it. There is Walt Whitman, and there is Henry James. The scene of the drama of America and Europe which is the theme of Henry James is America itself, Boston and New York rather than Paris and Rome.

Someone once said that America was a country which had passed from primitive pioneering to decadence with no interval of cultivated civilization in between. It would be truer to say that primitivism, decline, and vital civilizing forces all exist side by side in America. Its literature reflects this coexistence of extremes, this loneliness of conditions which do not understand one another, this frustration and violence.

Europe has an intellectual life in which writers know themselves, and know one another, and are known. Formerly American writers went to Europe to enter into this state of awareness and self-awareness. But a time can come when there is a movement of Europeans away from European self-awareness toward the American loneliness. This happens if European awareness becomes terrifying, chaotic, and disillusioned rather than harmonious and poetic. It seems that we may have reached the stage when European awareness is awareness of a purpose which has gone out of life, an illusion which is lost. French existentialism is awareness of the meaninglessness of the real condition of being human and the arbitrariness of constructive and creative attitudes. But isolation is the only tolerable condition of work for the individual, whose motives in creating and constructing are of a heroic arbitrariness. There comes a stage when a *knowing* community is one which knows that no one believes in the mission of this civilization any longer. In such conditions one may get little revivals—a sudden interest, let us say, of a group of English artists in the Pre-Raphaelites and nineteenth-century Gothic. But in England everything descends below the level of the arbitrary gesture of public and artistic "engagement" to the children's game, the walks with the governess on the downs.

It is better perhaps, then, to be alone. And for this reason the American lone-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

liness has a great attraction for the European intellectual today. There has been a movement of English writers to America, and were it not for language difficulties, one can scarcely doubt that there would be an emigration of European literary life on a considerable scale. Translations of contemporary American literature have swept the Continent into a movement which is an invasion by external forces. American loneliness is now a magnet which pulls across the Atlantic as powerfully as Europe once pulled in the other direction. In America you are acquainted with everyone, but you are known by and get to know hardly anyone. There is no awareness of what you are up to; reputations, good or ill, are based on the most elementary and widely diffused misunderstandings.

So it would be wrong to condemn the American isolation of talent and to assert that it must be replaced by a literary community corresponding to the European one. At the same time, one must distinguish between two kinds of isolation for the writer, one creative and one sterile, and one must bear in mind that the existence of literature depends on a readers' as well as a writers' situation.

Productive loneliness perhaps expresses the American tragedy of a great continent without a center. It is a loneliness of clarity free of the insidious intellectual connections and commitments which now threaten to betray the individual European talent by involving it too much in the unbelief of a declining civilization.

The uncreative loneliness is a too facile acceptance of the separation of the writer's particular situation from all others. It is the loneliness of the successful who sneer at the unsuccessful, of the unsuccessful who reject every possibility of success, of the poets who retire early into university careers and concentrate on tremendous labors of literary criticism, of the editors and publishers who allow policy to be dictated to them by sales managers, and equally of the editors who have no wish to expand their circulation beyond a tiny clique, the loneliness of those who retire bitterly to the Midwest or the Pacific coast, or of those who accept alcohol as their fatality and write with it and about it. This acceptance of partial situations is mechanical because it is a reflection of the segregating, specializing, commercializing tendencies of the whole of America.

The creative loneliness is, of course, the solving by individuals within their own work of the problems which society presents, so that the successful rises above the mere fortune of his success, and within conventions which the society accepts manages to create extremely vital work, as did Balzac and Dickens. There is a great vitality in America and Americans which permits of these miraculous solutions, which somehow permit films that are masterpieces to be produced within the conditions imposed by Hollywood, novels that are masterpieces to be accepted by book clubs. Nevertheless, the individual's capacity to solve the problem within his own work and life does not prevent the problem from being grave. And in America the lack of a middle-sized reading public, independent of book clubs and capable of choosing for itself, is the main cause of the extraordinary situation by which talent is less capable of supporting itself for what it is, less able to do what it wants to do, than in most European countries. It is true that today the European writer is going through a very grave crisis, but it is a crisis largely induced by paper shortages and other difficulties of a purely material nature. The American malady is a spiritual one, the commercialization of spiritual goods on an enormous scale and in the same way as material things are commercialized. Everything which sells has to sell on advertised merits which are not its true quality; everything made is made to satisfy a demand artificially stimulated by sales propaganda. In the country where culture is "sold" enormously, it is sold as something other than culture and tends to become something else in the process. That real values nevertheless are maintained is the triumph of certain individuals who are able to enter into and survive this enormous success-machinery, and of others who reject it heroically.

[*Part I of Mr. Spender's comments on writers in America, based on his observations during a visit of eighteen months, appeared in the issue of October 15.*]

## NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

IN THE shortest book of the year Bertrand Russell poses the largest problem of our time: "How can we combine that degree of individual initiative which is necessary for progress with the degree of social cohesion that is necessary for survival?" He could hardly be expected to do more than pose it in the seventy-nine pages of "Authority and the Individual" (Simon and Schuster, $2), though he does suggest some of the answers, but his posing of it lights up so many facets of the problem, is so lucid and sensible, so informed and wise, that the reader ends by feeling that he has read a big book; what is even more important, such are the assurance, the verve, and the gaiety with which Mr. Russell confronts the problem that he strips it of its terrors, converts it into a challenge rather than a threat, and convinces us that it can be solved—which is half the battle.

The book is made up of six lectures, composing the Reith Lectures for 1948. This is an annual series broadcast by the BBC. Each year an acknowledged authority in a particular field is asked to undertake some study or original research on a given subject and to give listeners the results in a series of talks. An excellent idea which might well be emulated in this country.

The lectures were designed for a wide audience, and they are masterpieces of popularization, for there is not a difficult nor yet a supercilious note in the lot. They were written for a British audience, and Mr. Russell could take it for granted that his listeners were generally convinced both of the necessity for social security and of the desirability of cherishing the individual and his initiative; he could therefore address himself to the main issue of how a national and international community may work out compromises between two admittedly opposing drives which will insure to its members the advantages of both without the disadvantages of either.

The discussion proceeds, in a word, on a level of maturity and reality which will be a delight to those who like myself have grown exceedingly weary of sad sacks on the right who are puttering

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

around with plans for warding off the welfare state when the welfare state has long since come to stay and of deluded zealots on the left who are bent on immolating themselves and everyone else in the fires of the all-consuming state.

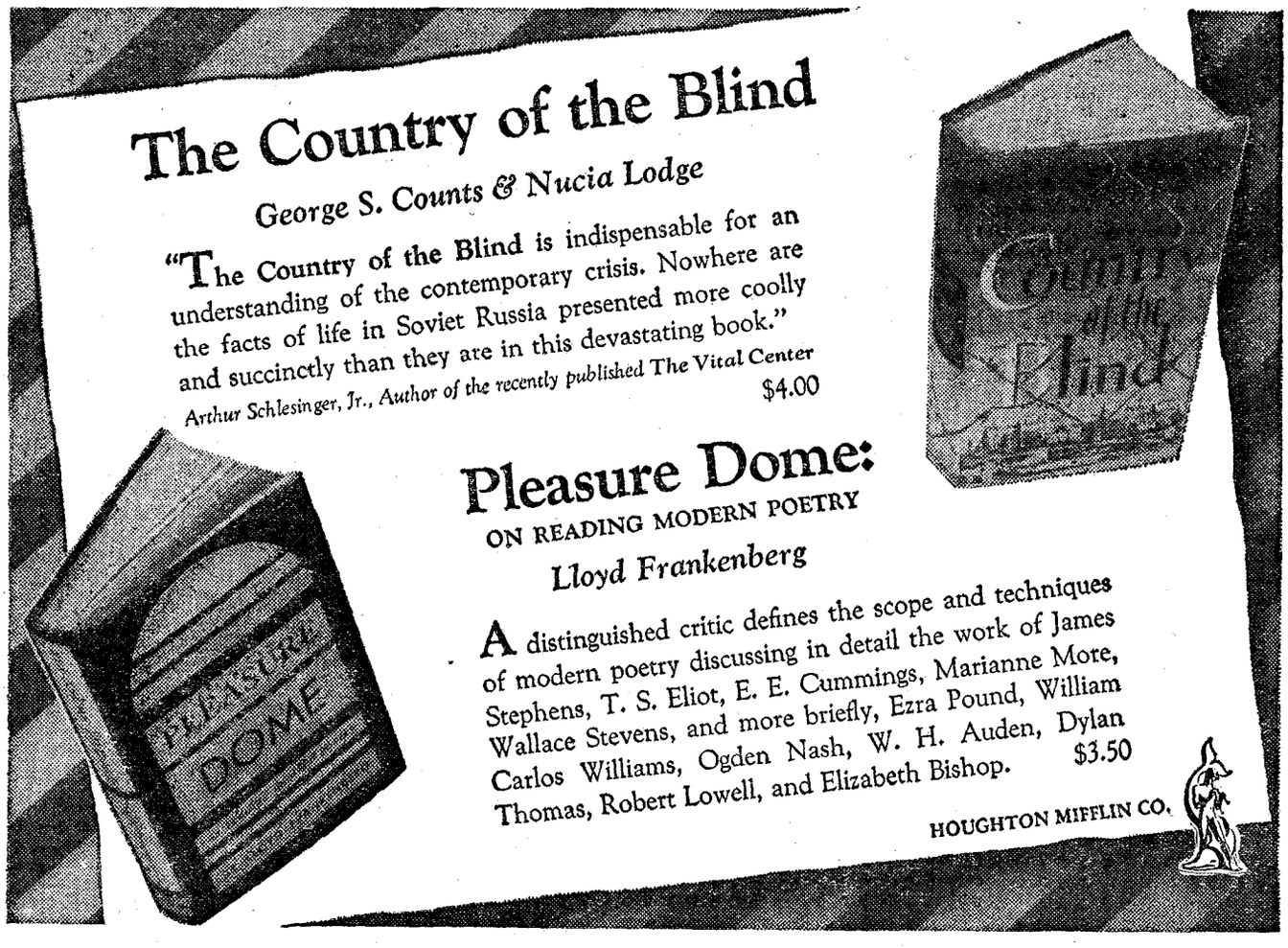
Mr. Russell examines the question, and is wonderfully equipped to examine it, in all its aspects—psychological, political, social, and moral. I could summarize his observations, but the book itself is succinct enough and so well written that paraphrase could not but be less persuasive; I should like to review it in quotations but there is not space. Therefore, since it is inexpensive, I merely recommend it.

I SHOULD HAVE paid my respects long since to "The Crack in the Column" by George Weller (Random House, $3), a novel which portrays the ordeal of Greece from the time its enemies, the Nazis, withdrew and its friends, the Allies, took over until the morning after the sorry elections from which the present sorry government derives its mandate.

The greatest merit of Mr. Weller's book is that he makes the story no less complicated than it actually is. And the story could hardly be more complicated, for Greece has been a focal point in the three wars that have raged during the past decade and more: the international war of 1939-45; the civil war that alternately flamed and smoldered within the international war and is still burning fiercely; and the cold war between the Soviets and the West, which has complicated and been complicated by the civil war and the international war.

"The Crack in the Column" is a remarkable piece of reporting, the work of a man whose desire to learn and communicate not only the facts of the case in Greece but also the meaning of what happened there is apparent throughout and whose resources both of knowledge and understanding are extraordinary. I think we may assume that Mr. Weller has given us as true and rounded an account of the Greek tragedy as we are likely to have for some time—an admirable accomplishment in itself and a public service as well in a period when partisanship and its distortions are the order of the day.

The book is also the work of a man who has a good deal of talent as a writer of fiction. There are many striking vignettes of people and places, many dramatic episodes that are very well handled, one excellent major characterization, that of Loulides the journalist. Though of necessity Mr. Weller must deal with "forces," he manages to keep his story, to a remarkable degree, on the human and humane level. But the novel, as novel, breaks up on the rock of Too Much. Among the gifts which the novelist must possess, the gift of judgment is not one of the most touted, but it is crucial, for the lack of it can set all the others at naught. Mr. Weller has attempted the impossible—and been defeated by it. It would be difficult enough to turn the story of Greece to novelistic uses if that story were a matter of common and digested knowledge and the novelist could take for granted, up to a point, the reader's familiarity with the material. Mr. Weller was confronted not merely with the artistic problem of giving form and



The Country of the Blind
George S. Counts & Nucia Lodge
"The Country of the Blind is indispensable for an understanding of the contemporary crisis. Nowhere are the facts of life in Soviet Russia presented more coolly and succinctly than they are in this devastating book."
Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Author of the recently published The Vital Center
$4.00
Country of the Blind
Pleasure Dome:
ON READING MODERN POETRY
Lloyd Frankenberg
A distinguished critic defines the scope and techniques of modern poetry discussing in detail the work of James Stephens, T. S. Eliot, E. E. Cummings, Marianne More, Wallace Stevens, and more briefly, Ezra Pound, William Carlos Williams, Ogden Nash, W. H. Auden, Dylan Thomas, Robert Lowell, and Elizabeth Bishop. $3.50
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN CO.


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

meaning to a large mass of material but also with the necessity of presenting the mass itself. Even a Tolstoy would be hard put to bring off such an assignment.

What is more to the point, a Tolstoy would not attempt it. And the point needs to be stressed because the preliminary error of judgment which defeats Mr. Weller is so common.

DIANA TRILLING has decided not to continue her column, Fiction in Review, which has been one of the outstanding features of Books and the Arts during the past seven years. My own regrets will be matched by those of the many readers who found her comments on current fiction so illuminating and so lively, and particularly by those younger practitioners of the novel who drew instruction and encouragement from her strict yet sympathetic criticism of their work. I am glad to say that Mrs. Trilling will continue to be a contributor—of occasional reviews and essays.

RECENTLY I saw a news photograph of Winston Churchill and a race horse at the Lincolnfield race track in England with a waggish caption saying that the horse had previously won three starts under Mr. Churchill's colors, "but they were all over courses bearing to the right. At Lingfield, the turns are left, and the horse bore far to the right on the first turn, losing four or five lengths." It reminded me of a bit of information I should have revealed long ago. One of the entries in the derby at Epsom Downs last spring was a horse named Conservative sired by Orthodox out of Why Hurry. He didn't place.

**Julian Huxley**

**explains the bitter Soviet genetics controversy in terms you can understand**

**HEREDITY EAST AND WEST**

**LYSENKO and WORLD SCIENCE**

"An event of social and scientific note . . . especially to those who hold to the beliefs that truth is the means to freedom, and understanding the means to peace."
— *Scientific American*

***Just published***

**At your bookstore $3**

**HENRY SCHUMAN, Inc.**

## Europe, East and West

*THE STATE OF EUROPE.* By Howard K. Smith. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.75.

HOWARD K. SMITH, whose broadcasts from Europe stand out among other examples of news analysis on the air, has written an earnest, provocative, and informative study of Europe from the end of the war till April, 1949. Mr. Smith is profoundly concerned for the future of Europe, as is almost every visitor to that continent who has studied conditions from any closer vantage-point than the luxury hotel or the window of a touring-car. He has reached certain basic conclusions. One is that Eastern and Western Europe have reversed their trends as a consequence of the war. The West's place used to be that of a wealthy, liberal-democratic leader, giving the pattern of culture; the East was poor, backward, and feudalistic, and without a middle class. Now Western Europe has fallen on a period of social contraction and Eastern Europe on one of social expansion. Mr. Smith believes the forces of this change to be profounder than current politics or the cold war. They have been long accumulating and are now, he thinks, virtually irresistible. He does not believe that communism has helped the trend in the East; if anything it has slowed it down. And American aid, in his opinion, has only temporarily checked the decline in the West.

Mr. Smith has another basic concept of the social changes now taking place. He believes the world no longer can live by what he calls the "commercial principle" laid down for an earlier day. He contends that the market is not an adequate means for distributing the prodigiously increased production of the world's machinery, and that the profit motive cannot serve as governor for the economic pressures of the times.

This marks Mr. Smith as a social democrat. Like others of this description he feels abhorrence for the rough-shod forbiddances of the Soviet system, but he does not shrink from a collectivist society, and he considers the coming of the welfare state essential. Perhaps his most cogent passages are his criticisms of American policy for its failure to encourage the development of social democracy in Europe and thus to hold the progressive leadership in Europe. It is indubitable that Europe would be closer today to federation and economic stability, the German problem would be amenable to peaceable solution, and the world would have been spared much of the peril of the cold war if the democratic progressives of the underground in France and Italy and the Social Democrats of Europe had been deliberately fostered by the United States. But, on the contrary, American policy, in trying to promote conditions in which American big business can thrive, has sapped the strength of these movements and sacrificed the spiritual vitality they might have given Europe.

Mr. Smith is most unhappy about the cold war, though without analyzing the power relationship in a two-power world and its almost inevitable development in the direction of war. He considers it largely based on psychological factors, mutual fears and suspicions. If only the suspicions could be removed, he pleads, the cold war could dissolve into a *mode-de-vivre*. He goes to some pains, not without courage, to edit the version of Russian policy and conduct as now generally accepted in this country. He does not consider the Russians to have been as evil as they have been portrayed, or the United States, as he proceeds to document, as blameless. But this is not the most conclusive part of the book, since the problem of power in a world without law is not to be solved simply by attributing the proper share of blame and praise. Power rivalry of itself engenders wrongdoing, and the rivalry is not to be ended by exhortations to right living.

Mr. Smith's readers will be constantly reminded, as he proceeds, that Europe is in a much worse state than when he put away his typewriter in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

April. Russia has come into possession of the atomic bomb. A new Germany of strong nationalist proclivities has been born which promises to fulfil Mr. Smith's gravest forebodings. The almost certain failure of the Marshall Plan to bring balance between the dollar and the non-dollar countries has emerged clearly into view. The Strasbourg Council has met without revealing any potentiality for a genuine all-Europe federation. Russia is the stronger for the Communist victory in China and only weaker for the survival of Tito in Yugoslavia. So much of dire portent happening in the flash of time since Mr. Smith finished his manuscript does not make it out of date. On the contrary, his warnings already are fulfilled in part, and his analysis is the more graphically illustrated. His final prayer is that the United States nail the banner of change to its mast. The change must go even deeper than Mr. Smith recommends, in this writer's opinion, and substitute enforceable law for unlimited national military power in a world of anarchy.

Mr. Smith's great virtue, other than caring profoundly about what is happening in the world, is that he sees that most questions have at least two sides and tries to present them both. For this he will anger the bigoted and often confound those who do not realize how little two-sided reporting they are given nowadays. He also has been at pains to be fair and understanding in meting out blame. If he occasionally distorts a complex story by trying to sum it up in a few sentences or paragraphs, he is unusually successful in setting up the post-war panorama of Europe, with emphasis on the salient features in each country. His contribution gives him stature in the field of contemporary comment where tall men are scarce. RAYMOND SWING

## From the Underground

*IN SICILY*. By Elio Vittorini. New Directions. $2.50.

ELIO VITTORINI was born in Syracuse, in Sicily, in 1908, in the shadow of the melodramatic Mediterranean history and of the melodramatic Mediterranean island. He was the son of a poor man, a railroad worker, and he grew up for the most part in a railroad cottage set beside the tracks in the middle of the arid inland mountains. Education meant five years of grammar school, three years of high school, and two desultory years in a business school, where he was never able to learn bookkeeping. Then he ran away, with a railroad worker's pass in his pocket, to see the world. The world he saw was the big northern cities, a job breaking rocks on a road in Gorizia, a job as a construction worker on a big bridge, a job as proofreader on a newspaper. But the world was also literature —French (he had learned French in school), English (he learned English from an old printer who had been abroad), and, of course, Italian. By the time he was twenty he was writing and publishing. Then began the uncertain and ambiguous life of a writer under the unpredictable Fascist censorship: any kind of book might get by and any kind of book might be suppressed. Twice he was officially "expelled" from the party, to which he had belonged as a schoolboy and to which he had never paid dues. Finally, in 1943, in Milan, he was arrested. But he was released before the Germans occupied the city, and during the last period of the war was a gun-runner for the Resistance. Since the war he has been a left-wing journalist, literary editor of one of the best Italian publishing houses, critic, translator, and novelist.

Vittorini is, then, one of the "new" Italian writers who are new only to us abroad. "In Sicily," the novel with which he makes his American debut, was written, in fact, in the period 1936-39, and appeared then in a magazine, section by section as it was composed. The first edition in book form, under the title "Tears and Wine," was of three hundred copies, but by 1942 it was published in an edition of 5,000, which was exhausted in a month, before the Fascist censorship had become aware of the immoral and unpatriotic nature of the book and disciplined the author. Then seven clandestine editions followed in Italy. It has been translated into eleven languages.

"In Sicily" comes to us with an introduction by Ernest Hemingway, an imposing array of comments by English writers, including Stephen Spender and Elizabeth Bowen, and the promise from New Directions that all Vittorini's

**Earth Abides**

**By GEORGE R. STEWART,** *author of* STORM, FIRE, *etc.* "Superb and provocative entertainment."—*Saturday Review.* *$3.00*

**Maupassant:**

**A LION IN THE PATH**

**By FRANCIS STEEGMULLER.** "A necessity for any lover of Maupassant's writings."—*Irwin Edman.* *$5.00*

**This I Saw:**

**THE LIFE AND TIMES OF GOYA**

**By ANTONINA VALLENTIN.** "An outstanding biography."—*New York Times Book Review.* With 20 gravure reproductions. *$5.00*

**The U.A.W. and Walter Ruether**

**By IRVING HOWE & B. J. WIDICK.** A fascinating account of the U.A.W. and its smart, progressive leader, of their trials and tribulations and spectacular rise to power. *$3.00*

**THE American College Dictionary**

Acclaimed the finest, most authoritative, most up-to-date desk dictionary ever published. 1472 pages, 132,000 entries, 1600 illustrations. *Plain, $5; thumb-indexed, $6*

***Random House Bestsellers***

**A RAGE TO LIVE**
*by John O'Hara. $3.75*

**LEAD, KINDLY LIGHT**
*by Vincent Sheean. $3.75*

**PLEASE PASS THE HOSTESS**
*Cartoons by Whitney Darrow, Jr. $2.75*

AT ALL BOOKSTORES, RANDOM HOUSE, N. Y.


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

other books will follow. This enthusiasm is, I think, justified. "In Sicily" is a remarkable, quite beautiful, and original little book. It has sometimes been said that Vittorini is excessively influenced by American writing, especially by Hemingway and Steinbeck—he has translated such writers as Hemingway, Faulkner, and Saroyan, and knows American literature very well—and it is true that his dialogue now and then shows traces of the Hemingway manner, and much of his fiction is concerned with very simple people who are treated with a blend of humor and seriousness that for some readers may suggest Steinbeck's attitude in, for example, "Tortilla Flat." But Vittorini's use of the Hemingway manner is only incidental, and his general style owes nothing to Hemingway. (In fact, the only reservation Hemingway makes about Vittorini in his Introduction concerns the style, which he finds too "fancy.") And as for Steinbeck's influence, I can find no trace of it; certainly Vittorini's characters are not presented with the sentimental condescension that so often taints Steinbeck's work. All in all, whatever Vittorini has derived from his study of American literature he has quite fully absorbed and made a part of his own highly personal work.

The story of "In Sicily" is very simple. In a northern city, against a background of war and of grinding winter poverty, the narrator, the "I" of the story, has lost his faith in humanity and has sunk into a "quietude of hopelessness." He receives a letter from his Sicilian father saying that he has left his wife for another woman and suggesting that the son pay his mother a visit on her birthday. On impulse, the "I" takes the suggestion and returns to the land of his childhood. He rediscovers that land, the empty, sunlit plains, the green malarial swamps, the rocky torrents and gorges, the colored sea, the high, noble mountains under the vacant, shining winter sky. But, more important, he discovers his mother and the village people around her. She is a brilliant creation, fully credible, full of humor, fortitude, crankiness, affection, and endurance. She is the embodiment of the wisdom and hope that the son had lost in the northern city, and the story of his return is the story of his rediscovery of wisdom and hope. He discovers something else, too, from the old man Ezechiele: "The world is big and beautiful, but it has been greatly outraged. Everyone suffers, each for himself, but not for the world that has been outraged, and so the world continues to be outraged."

This is a simple story, but it is powerful because Vittorini has gifts of evocation, of characterization, of humor, of poetry. The land is solid and real and the people are real. But, more, we can believe that the "I" of the story could really have found wisdom and hope from this land and these people.

Though this novel was written more than ten years ago, in Italy under Fascism, it is not remote in place or dated in time. The world hasn't changed enough to make the book happily outmoded, even for an American reader. This book from the literary underground of Fascist Italy still has something to say to us because it is literature and because literature always is, in the last analysis, a voice from the underground.

ROBERT PENN WARREN

CAN YOU BE FOOLED BY YANKEE DOODLE? read In fact

The weekly newsletter edited by
GEORGE SELDES
*Author: The People Don't Know, 1000 Americans, etc.*

If you read a newspaper, the chances are you were fooled by Freedoms Foundation, the star-spangled phony front for big-money reaction which recently gave $84,000 in "Americanism" awards. This week IN FACT exposes the financial angel to hate groups and the advertising executive who dreamed up this new scheme to make fascism respectable, award prizes for reaction; reveals how Eisenhower and others were fooled into fronting for Yankee Doodle fascism • Every week IN FACT prints documented news you can't get elsewhere.

**52 issues for $2—Less than 4¢ a copy**
A SMALL PRICE FOR THE TRUTH

Dept. 24 N, IN FACT,
280 Lafayette St., New York 12, N. Y.
I enclose $2.00—please send IN FACT for 52 weeks, plus the issue described.

NAME_____
ADDRESS_____
CITY_____
ZONE_____ STATE_____

## A Very Rare "Schoolmaster"

*EDUCATION OF A HUMANIST.* By Albert Guérard. Harvard University Press. $5.

THE word "humanities" has come into vogue again, in academic circles chiefly, to identify those courses in the great books and the great traditions of art and music which are presumably to keep alive, in translations and in reproductions, the accrued humane values of the Western world. The word "humanist" pops up, too, though in various contexts, sometimes meaning a secular "religion of humanity," sometimes a worldly philosophy. Sometimes it connotes, as it does in Professor Guérard's sensible and engagingly discursive book, something of long familiar usage, the sense in which Erasmus is called a humanist, the sense in which Matthew Arnold is thus labeled, the sense in which a Professor of Administrative Procedure in Junior High Schools in some teachers' college is not properly so called.

Mr. Guérard is a humanist in the wide traditional meaning. He believes that education—not only in the classroom sense—can "assert, strengthen, and widen the humanity of men." He began as a teacher of language, the French language; he went on to become a professor of civilization. He has been a historian and professor of English and comparative literature. He has been concerned with a world federation and a world language. He has been one of the most widely learned and lucidly persuasive of writers in all these fields. He is now professor emeritus at Stanford University, where for a generation he has been a catalytic agent to students in half a dozen subject matters.

In this book Mr. Guérard in his first chapter, in what he calls "the evening thoughts of a schoolmaster," reflects on the meaning of the fields in which he has studied and taught. This is a backward look on the meaning of a career, a forward look on education. It expresses with singular breadth and notable modesty what a very rare "schoolmaster" makes of the world in which he has taught and the world which he thinks may be saved, if at all, by the reiteration and communication of human values.

This, he thinks, can be done best by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

education in the humanities. But by humanities he does not mean simply courses in books and arts, nor by education simply courses. He means that in a mechanical age that wonderfully turns the material world to uses good and evil it is still the function of certain fields of scholarship and areas of experience to nurture the discipline of the sensibility of men. Only thus will the machines of men liberate and not, as in the notorious instance of the atomic bomb, threaten to destroy us all.

There is disarming candor in Mr. Guérard's frank avowal of the limitations of his own scientific knowledge and the awe with which he regards scientific achievement. But he is no sentimental idolator of mathematicians and physicists. He thinks there are experts in the humanities, too, and experts whose "reports" and whose leadership will serve to sustain and generate that humanity on whose ideals and purposes the survival of civilization depends.

Mr. Guérard thinks the humanists, and those professionally concerned with the humanities, are more important, if one is to make such distinctions, than scientists, for they help create the atmosphere in which decisions as to life and society and policy are made. But Mr. Guérard is too experienced in the academic profession to believe that a mere official concern with the "humanistic studies" means genuine wisdom or humanity on the part of those concerned. He reveals a shrewd acquaintance with all the pedantries and narrownesses that parade under the humanistic banner. He knows that language is a tool as well as an enjoyment, that history requires imagination as well as research, that cultures are not isolated and national but part of the republic of mankind. That is why he was led from the teaching of language to the teaching of civilization and, ultimately, to the active propaganda for a world language and for world government. A Frenchman who spent part of his youth in England and most of his life happily naturalized, in every sense, in the United States, he knows the virtues and defects of all countries and cultures. He knows these cultures are not as isolated as their nationalist champions imagine. A genuine humanism enforces the lesson that the great republic is "one which values the true Christian, the scholar, the gentle man." Against these ideals Mr. Guérard finds two dangerous poisons current, the poison of nationalism and that of the "insensate crusade against communism." Mr. Guérard is very severe about our policy with regard to Russia and with regard to Palestine. It is not quite clear just what in the way of specific policy his own would have been. But about where his heart and mind lie there is no doubt and there can scarcely be disagreement among sensitive and reasonable men:

> . . . Science will provide marvelous means; but only the humane spirit can direct them to worthy ends. The humanities must help us transcend the parochialism of sectarian religion, of the national state, of the profit motive, of party politics, of doctrinaire ideologies. Culture is not a luxury: it is a way of life.

It is fine to have Mr. Guérard so eloquently, so engagingly, so convincingly make this clear. But the very fact that one can question his specific judgments shows that even were the world to contain only humanists of Mr. Guérard's caliber, still even those humanists might disagree. IRWIN EDMAN

## A String of Pearls

*A WRITER'S NOTEBOOK.* By W. Somerset Maugham. Doubleday and Company. $4.

IT IS hardly necessary to say that these notes are readable and often genuinely interesting; it is hardly more necessary to add that they are never profound or really original. If it were needed, they would give one more proof that their author is an outstanding example of how much can be made in fame, in money, in respectable achievement out of rather small but perfectly genuine talents. Mr. Maugham himself says something very much like this, for though he can be snooty on occasion, he has what appears to be a sincerely modest opinion of his own gifts. He is miles beyond the usual best-seller without being a really great writer.

The passages, which are from a working notebook, include observations on people and places, literary opinions, brief philosophical speculations, detached pensées and occasional sketches for stories either later written up or abandoned. They are chronologically arranged from 1892 down to almost the present, and there are occasional very brief added comments. The tone is consciously man-of-the-worldish, and most of the paragraphs reflect in one way or another the author's rather melancholy hedonism. His nihilism is never passionate enough to approach the tragic; sometimes, indeed, it seems almost complacent; and to that extent a little old-fashioned, if one may use the term in a sense not necessarily derogatory. Perhaps he would admit to being something between an epicurean and a stoic, and that suggests an attitude which rather went out when Anatol France ceased to be popular and the Dostoevskians came in.

> Gushing, she said to me: "What does it feel like to be famous?"
>
> I suppose I've been asked the question twenty times and I never could think how to answer, but today, too late, it suddenly occurred to me.
>
> It's like having a string of pearls given you. It's nice, but after a while, if you

**SAVE 25% ON ANY BOOK OF ANY PUBLISHER! Why Pay More?**

**(AND YOU MAY DEDUCT IT IN ADVANCE!)**

Here's a new and unsurpassed way to buy your books. Deduct 25% from the list price right away! You save on your very first book and every book you choose. That goes for any book in print except books classified by their publishers as text or technical books (on these you save 10%). If you wish, we'll gift-wrap and enclose a card with your name and greeting free. Books shipped same day order and payment are received. You get regular publishers' editions, not reprints, and you receive a free subscription to *Latest Books*, monthly booklet of book news.

**MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY!**

DIVIDEND BOOK CLUB, Inc.
799 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Dept. B-23

Same Day Shipment

Please enroll me as a Dividend Book Club member. I understand that I may deduct 25% in advance on every book I buy except text or technical books (10% off on these). I promise to buy four books within a year. All books are original publishers' editions. I am to receive FREE a subscription to Latest Books. Send me the books listed on the attached sheet for which I enclose $_____
(Add 15¢ per book postage and handling charges.)

Name_____

Address_____

City_____

Zone_____ State_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

think of it at all, it's only to wonder if they're real or cultured.

And now that I have my reply ready I don't expect anyone will ever put the question to me again.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

## The Spanish Story

*A HISTORY OF SPAIN.* By Rafael Altamira. Translated by Muna Lee. D. Van Nostrand Company. $6.75.

ONE is showing no lack of appreciation for the work of poets, novelists, and dramatists in saying that the most significant achievement of contemporary Spanish letters is the brilliant work accomplished in historical science. And what is most striking is that the specialized work of source discovery and evaluation, which in some countries has become a sort of professional mania, has been accompanied by a major effort in synthesis. Ramón Menendez Pidal, as editor of the projected but now paralyzed collective "History of Spain"; Antonio Ballesteros, author of a nine-volume work; and Rafael Altamira have been the leaders in this second and, for foreigners, more important effort. So far little of all this has been translated, though another book of Altamira's was published in England in 1930. Nor, with the exception of J. B. Trend's marvelous little "Civilization of Spain" (Home University Library) and W. C. Atkinson's brief history, has there been much reflection of it in "popular" writing. The appearance of the present work is therefore a noteworthy event, especially as Altamira is, for any modern spirit, by far the most valuable of the writers mentioned—by reason of his subtle yet unifying intelligence, his liberal temperament, and his communicated excitement in cultural and social matters. In breaking away from the old-fashioned political chronicle Altamira was indeed the innovator, and the appearance of his four-volume history between 1900 and 1911 was, quite strictly, an epoch-making event.

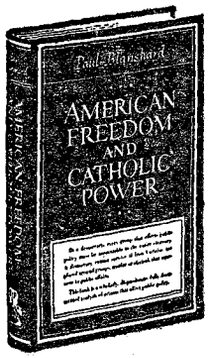
The present volume is not a translation of that great work but of a manual primarily for the use of university classes and the educated layman. As such it will be remarkably useful to the non-Spaniard whose interest in Spain derives chiefly from the political events that followed the establishment of the Second Republic. The evolution of Spanish culture and the development of social institutions receive adequate treatment, though historical narrative of a somewhat more conservative sort necessarily plays a larger part here than in the one-volume "History of Spanish Civilization" published in 1930. For the average internationalist I think this will be a virtue, though the vaguely pedagogic tone, exaggerated by the rather clumsy translation, must be counted a defect.

The last three chapters will be particularly useful, for they deal with The New Liberal Ideas and the First Crisis of the Bourbon Monarchy, The Struggle for Constitutionalism and the Cultural and Economic Renascence, and The Dictatorship and the Second Republic. No responsible historian dares as yet to describe or analyze the civil war, and Señor Altamira does not attempt to do so. The documentary sources are in Spain, and Altamira is a member of the Republic in Exile. But though these later chapters are of great value, it is the earlier history of Spain which is once again so splendidly set down. What a history it is! Greek, Carthaginian, and Roman colonizations have fertilized it; Visigothic and Moslem conquests have added their rich strains; the appalling accident of the Austrian Succession at once thwarted and intensified Spanish character. The country's tardy political development and the weakness of the middle class have made modern Spain a vividly illuminated laboratory in which all the conflicting elements of modern society can be seen in stark clarity. The foreign student without Spanish will not have access to the finest guide to the Spanish story until the great four-volume history is completed and translated, but until then this present work will be one of the best available.

RALPH BATES


The most-discussed book in America—

DON'T MISS IT!




AMERICAN FREEDOM and CATHOLIC POWER

By PAUL BLANSHARD

ALREADY IN ITS NINTH PRINTING: 85,000 COPIES

Honored as one of the "50 outstanding religious books of the year" by the American Library Association.

A Book-of-the-Month Club Recommendation

*"Mr. Blanshard has done a difficult and necessary piece of work with exemplary scholarship, good judgment and tact."—John Dewey, dean of American philosophers.*

AT YOUR BOOKSELLER 350 pages $3.50

The Beacon Press

BOSTON


## "Three Forms of Magic"

*NOT SO LONG AGO.* By Lloyd Morris. Random House. $5.

IN HIS admirable volume "Postscript to Yesterday" (1947) Lloyd Morris conducted an incisive and thoughtful expedition into the intellectual history of our recent past. In "Not So Long Ago" he turns his attention to social history and in particular to the fantastic changes in the color and tempo of American life wrought in the last half-century by the automobile, the moving pictures, and the radio. The result is a work which, if it lacks the special distinction of "Postscript to Yesterday," yet puts together in a remarkably urbane and intelligent way the story of the modern social revolution of American life.

It all began, with appropriate literary timing, in 1896. In the spring of that *annus mirabilis* a horseless carriage appeared on the streets of Detroit, moving pictures were shown in New York City, and messages were transmitted by wireless across the Thames in London. Mr. Morris describes the origins of each of the "three forms of magic," deftly characterizes the persistent dreamers who brought about the revolution, and sums up the impact of the wondrous changes on American life.

The ease of Morris's style conceals the great amount of fact which has been quietly absorbed into the texture of the prose. This reviewer is not quali-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fied to judge the technical data involved in a discussion of vitascopes, combustion engines, or vacuum tubes; but Mr. Morris certainly sounds convincing. The picture of the new ruling class which rose to power in the wake of the technological innovations is of great interest—the backyard mechanics who built modern Detroit, the garment-makers and furriers who built Hollywood—and Mr. Morris does full justice to his opportunities.

There are a few slips in fact and in emphasis. John Gilbert, for example did not, as Mr. Morris says, commit suicide soon after the advent of the talkies; he did not die until 1936, and then as a result of a heart attack. Mr. Morris is not responsible for the fact that the "give-away" craze of 1948-49, with which he concludes his discussion of radio, seems already to have gone the way of mah-jong and miniature golf. But he might have explored in a more systematic way the implications of radio and the films for the spontaneous cultural life of the people. The question whether, for example, they have raised or lowered popular standards is an interesting and important one on which Mr. Morris's opinion would be valuable. Yet, within its limits, "Not So Long Ago" does a fine job of recalling and characterizing the men and instruments which have transformed our life within the memory of a single generation. A word should certainly be added for the excellence of the illustrations. ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

# Books in Brief

*THE BEST NOVELS AND STORIES OF EUGENE MANLOVE RHODES.* Edited by Frank V. Dearing. Introduction by J. Frank Dobie. Houghton Mifflin. $5. Their contrived plots and conventional sentiment make these Westerns, mostly written for the *Saturday Evening Post,* seem pretty dated, but they give the genuine local color of Alamagordo County, New Mexico, where Rhodes lived during the 1880's and 1890's. The cowboys are not wholly stereotypes, and Rhodes is a master hand at a chase or a hide-out. The best one, "Pasó por Aquí," would make a refreshing change from Bret Harte as an anthology piece.

*CHRISTINA ROSSETTI.* By Marya Zaturenska. Macmillan. $4. A sensitively written and psychologically discriminating study of Christina Rossetti's life and of the Pre-Raphaelite world from which she gradually withdrew to sainthood. As criticism it lacks incisiveness: one wishes the author would develop such hints as the comparison in Christina's favor with Emily Dickinson, which she tentatively suggests.

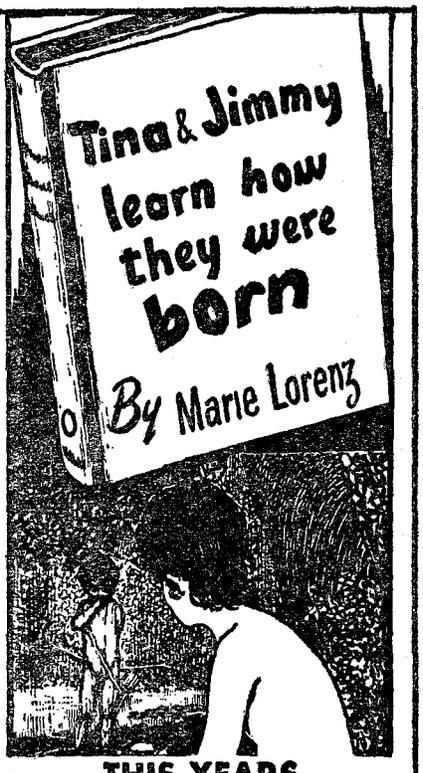
*THE SELECTED WRITINGS OF LAFCADIO HEARN.* Edited by Malcolm Goodman. Citadel. $4. A collection which emphasizes the writings of Hearn's Japanese period—sketches of life and manners, essays on social and cultural changes, with prophetic glimpses of disaster to come, and the beautifully rendered folk tales of "Kwaidan." It also includes "Some Chinese Ghosts," "Chita" and other impressions of New Orleans and the Caribbean, and some specimens of Hearn's earlier and very flamboyant journalism. Malcolm Cowley contributes an excellent introduction.

## Drama

*MARGARET MARSHALL*

KATHARINE CORNELL is herself again in "That Lady" (Martin Beck Theater), or at least that version of herself which she seems to prefer—the irresistible, passionate and proud, yet all-understanding and noble woman. The trouble is that the woman she affects to portray was a rather different sort.

So far as I can make out from reading the background stories which the Sunday drama sections were kind enough to provide, the real Princess of Eboli was, to be sure, irresistible, passionate, and proud, but she was also unscrupulous, hard, and a master, or mistress, of intrigue. In Kate O'Brien's romantic picture of her in which Miss Cornell fondly collaborates, the princess has been shorn of all the unadmirable qualities without which it is highly improbable that she could have cut a swath in the court life of sixteenth-century Spain or survived in the history books and which, I perversely suspect, made her interesting. The real


THIS YEARS
IDEAL CHRISTMAS GIFT
FOR YOUNG READERS

• *The book which brings the facts of life to children directly.*

• Parents no longer have to go through the awkward task of telling their children the facts of life. If they're under 8, you read this book to them; if they're over 8, they can read the book themselves and find in it the answers to all the important questions.

• "The most amazing book of its kind," writes Dr. Samuel T. Robbins, well known child psychologist, joining in the chorus of newspaper praise.

*from the newspaper raves*

"THE BOOK FOR ANY AND EVERY CHILD."
"ENCHANTINGLY FRANK."
"TAKES OFF THEIR HANDS A JOB NO PARENT IS REALLY EQUIPPED FOR."
"STUNNINGLY DONE."
"DELIGHTFULLY DIVERTING."
"RECOMMENDED TO MOTHERS WITH PRE-SCHOOL AND CHILDREN IN THE EARLY GRADES."

Over 100 Drawings — Some in 3 colors
PUBLISHED AT $2.95
SPECIAL PRICE TO NEWSPAPER READERS ONLY $1.98

BOAR'S HEAD BOOKS
150 B'way, Room 914, N. Y., N. Y.

Gentlemen: I enclose $1.98 for a copy of the $2.95 edition of TINA and JIMMY LEARN HOW THEY WERE BORN. I may return for full credit if not entirely pleased.

NAME.....
NO. & STREET.....
CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....
C.O.D. ($1 must go along as binder)


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

princess lost an eye in a duel at the age of fourteen—she must have been, you see, quite a girl. Miss Cornell wears a patch over one eye, and the story of the duel is retained in the program notes, but from hers and Miss O'Brien's characterization, it would be much easier to believe that the injury had been sustained in the sewing room, probably in the course of some noble action in which the little princess was defending a lowly seamstress.

I am not being merely catty, or extreme. There is actually talk of civil rights in "That Lady"—Miss O'Brien's modernization of the privilege of personal liberty of Spanish aristocrats which was, I gather, an issue in the real story. There is also a brief discussion of the psychological effect on the princess's personality of her loss of an eye in childhood. And there is another modern note in Miss O'Brien's rendering. Or is the word commercial? In spite of her spiritual nobility, the princess's love for Perez, which brings them both to ruin, is represented as above all sensual. A sound enough conception, but here so crudely handled as to make one pretty sure that this "significant" idea was introduced merely in order to make the love scenes sultry.

It would not matter that "That Lady" is anachronistic if it were not also silly and cheap. There are some good actors in the piece, but they can make little headway against Miss O'Brien's "historical" nonsense. The settings, by Rolf Gérard out of Velasquez, are quite handsome.


**IMPORTED RECORDINGS**

**ALFVEN:** Midsummer Vigil (Grevillius).....$3.99
**BACH, J. Chr.:** Cello Sonata, Cm (Marechal)..... 5.24
: Serenata Notturna, Eb (Merckel)..... 3.50
: Symphony in Bb (Gmeindl)..... 6.30
**BACH, J. S.:** Violin Concerto, Am (Varga)..... 3.99
: Violin Concerto in E (De Vito)..... 7.86
: Concerto for two Violins, Dm (Grumiaux).... 3.99
: Concerto for Violin & Oboe (Woeldike).... 5.24
: Italian Concerto in F (Landowska)..... 5.24
: Chromatic Fantasy & Fugue (Fischer)..... 5.24
: Brandenburg Concerto #5 in D (Neel)..... 6.30
: Concerto #2 for two Pfs. (Schnabel)..... 7.86
: Concerto #2 for three Pfs. (Bret)..... 7.86
: Concerto for four Pfs. in Am (Bret)..... 3.99
*And many other unique items for sale at:*
**ELAINE MUSIC SHOP**
**9 East 44 Street Dept. N New York City 17**
Catalogue: 10¢ post paid. Sample copy of record review "JUST RECORDS" on request



**CRITICS' AWARD FOR BEST MUSICAL**
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
*present in association with*
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN
**MARY MARTIN · EZIO PINZA**
*In A New Musical Play*
**South Pacific**
*Music by* RICHARD RODGERS
*Lyrics by* OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
*Book by*
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
*Directed by* JOSHUA LOGAN
*Scenery & Lighting by* Jo Mielziner
*with* MYRON McCORMICK
MAJESTIC THEA., 44th St. W. of B'way
EVES. 8:25. MATS. WED. & SAT. 2:25


# Records

**B. H. HAGGIN**

THE following are outstanding among the recordings of the past year (RCA Victor: V; Columbia: C; English Decca: ED; London: L; Mercury: M). When both 78 r.p.m. and LP versions are listed they are equally good; when only one is listed it is the better of the two. English Decca recordings may no longer be obtainable, but may be reissued under London imprint. I have included a few imported HMV recordings.

*Bach: Erbarme dich* from St. Matthew Passion; Katherine Ferrier; ED K-1465. Brandenburg Concerto No. 3; Boyd Neel String Orchestra; ED K-1619. Sinfonia from Christmas Oratorio; Beecham and Royal Philharmonic; V 12-0583.

*Beethoven:* Overture "Zur Weihe des Hauses"; Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony; V DM-1287 (with Schumann's "Manfred" Overture). Quartet Opus 135; Paganini Quartet; V DM-1253. Sonata Opus 69 for cello and piano; Fournier and Schnabel; V DM-1231. Sonata Opus 102 No. 1 for cello and piano; Fournier and Schnabel; HMV DB-6500/1. Sonata Opus 5 No. 2 for cello and piano; Casals and Horszowski; HMV DB-3911/3. Piano Concerto No. 2; Schnabel and Philharmonia Orchestra under Dobrowen; HMV DB-9099/102 (for Schnabel's superlative performance). Piano Concerto No. 5; Schnabel and Philharmonia Orchestra under Galliera; HMV DB-9326/30 (orchestral performance poor, recorded sound stridently sharp).

*Bloch:* Quartet No. 2; Griller Quartet; ED Set 93 (recorded sound sharp).

*Buxtehude:* Cantata "Aperite mihi portas justitiæ"; Schiotz and others; V 12-0533 (for the performance).

*Chabrier:* Marche joyeuse; Mitropoulos and Minneapolis Symphony; C 19013-D (with Coronation March from "Le Prophète").

*Debussy:* "La Mer"; Ansermet and Orchestre de la Suisse Romande; ED Set 88.

*Dowland:* 3 songs; Schiotz; V 12-0924.

*Dvorak:* "Carnaval" Overture; Kleiber and London Philharmonic; ED K-1989.

*Handel:* Royal Fireworks Music; Sargent and Liverpool Philharmonic; C MX-319. *Revenge, Timotheous Cries* from "Alexander's Feast"; Trevor Anthony with London Symphony under Sargent; L T-5157.

*Haydn:* Symphony No. 93; Cantelli and N. B. C. Symphony; V DM-1323 (recorded sound very sharp). Symphony No. 96; Van Beinum and Concertgebouw Orchestra; ED Set 84. Symphonies Nos. 44 and 48; Vienna Symphony under Jonathan Sternberg; Haydn Society LP 1003. Quartet Opus 33 No. 3; Griller Quartet; ED Set 76 (recorded sound very sharp).

*Mahler:* "Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen"; Eugenia Zareska with London Philharmonic under Van Beinum; ED Set 71.

*Mendelssohn:* "Italian" Symphony; Koussevitzky and Boston Symphony; V DM-1259. "Midsummer Night's Dream" music; Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony; V DM-1280 (recorded with heavy bass and weak treble). Scherzo from Octet; Beecham and Royal Philharmonic; V 12-0688 (with an excerpt from Massenet's "La Vierge").

*Mozart:* Piano Concerto K.503; Fischer and Philharmonia Orchestra under Krips; HMV DB-9287/90. Rondo K.382; Fischer; V 11-0031 (for the performance). Bassoon Concerto K.191; Sharrow and N. B. C. Symphony under Toscanini; V DM-1304. Quartet K.421; Hungarian Quartet; V DM-1299. Quintet K.406; Budapest Quartet and Katims; C ML-4143 (recorded sound poor) (with Quintet K.593). Sonata K.454 for violin and piano; Kulenkampff and Solti; ED Set 108. Sonata K.306 for violin and piano; Schneider and Kirkpatrick; C SL-52 (recorded sound not good) (with Sonata K.302 and previously issued sonatas). Symphony K.504 ("Prague"); Ansermet and Orchestre de la Suisse Romande; ED Set 91. Symphony K.319 Von Karajan and Vienna Philharmonic; C MM-778. *Incarnatus est* from Mass in C minor; Berger and Philharmonia Orchestra under Krips; V 12-0692. *Voi che sapete* from "Figaro"; Steber with orchestra under Morel; V 12-0526 (with Waltz Song from Gounod's "Romeo").

*Prokofiev:* "Classical" Symphony; Münch and Paris Conservatory Concerts Orchestra; ED Set 107. "Scythian" Suite; Ormandy and Philadelphia Orchestra; C MM-827 and ML-4142 (with Respighi's "Feste Romane") (recorded sound from both 78 and LP not always clear).

*Schubert:* Quartet "Death and the Maiden"; Fine Arts Quartet; M DM-14. Octet Opus 166; Vienna Octet; ED Set 104. "Der Doppelgänger" and "Der Jüngling und der Tod"; Anderson and Rupp; V 12-0580.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*Sibelius:* "The Swan of Tuonela"; orchestra under Stokowski; V 12-0585.

*Sitwell-Walton:* "Façade"; Edith Sitwell and orchestra under Frederick Prausnitz; C MM-829.

*Strauss:* Closing scene of "Salome"; Welitsch and Metropolitan Opera Orchestra under Reiner; C MX-316.

*Stravinsky:* "Danses Concertantes"; orchestra under Stravinsky; V DM-1234. "Orpheus"; orchestra under Stravinsky; V DM-1319. "Le Sacre du printemps"; Van Beinum and Concertgebouw Orchestra; ED Set 59. Symphony of Psalms; C. B. S. Symphony and chorus under Stravinsky; C MM-814 and ML-4129 (with Symphony in Three Movements).

*Tchaikovsky:* "Pathetic" Symphony; Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony; V DV-27. Letter Scene from "Eugene Onegin"; Welitsch and Philharmonia Orchestra under Susskind; C MX-310.

*Thomson:* "Four Saints in Three Acts"; singers and orchestra conducted by Thomson; V DM-1244.

*Verdi: Ella giammai m'amò* from "Don Carlos"; Pinza with Metropolitan Orchestra under Cleva; C 72802-D.

*Wagner:* Wesendonck Songs; Eileen Farrell and orchestra under Stokowski; V DM-1233 (singing afflicted with tremolo). *Wahn* Monologue from "Die Meistersinger"; Schöffler and National Symphony under Rankl; L T-5159.

# BOOKS OF 1949: A SELECTED LIST

THE WAR, THE PEACE, EUROPE, ASIA, MIDDLE EAST

*Fear, War, and the Bomb.* Military and Political Consequences of Atomic Energy. By P. M. S. Blackett. Whittlesey House. $3.50.

*Modern Arms and Free Men.* By Vannevar Bush. Simon and Schuster. $3.50.

*The Task of Nations.* By Herbert V. Evatt. Duell, Sloane, and Pearce. $3.

*Roosevelt and the Russians: The Yalta Conference.* By Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. Edited by Walter Johnson. Doubleday. $4.

*No Place to Hide.* By David J. Bradley. Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown. $2.

*Peace or Pestilence.* Biological Warfare and How to Avoid It. By Theodor Rosebury. Whittlesey House. $2.75.

*An Army in Exile.* The Story of the Second Polish Corps. By Lt.-General W. Anders, C. B. Macmillan. $5.

*We Survived.* As Told to Eric Boehm. Yale. $3.75.

*Their Finest Hour.* By Winston Churchill. Houghton Mifflin. $6.

*The Unknown Warriors.* A Personal Account of the French Resistance. By Pierre de Benouville. Simon and Schuster. $3.50.

*The Root and the Bough.* Edited by Leo W. Schwarz. Rinehart. $3.75.

*Global Mission.* By H. H. Arnold, General of the Air Force (Ret.). Harper. $5.

*Coral Sea, Midway and Submarine Actions. May, 1942-August, 1942. Volume IV. History of U. S. Naval Operations in World War II.* By Samuel Eliot Morison. Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown. $6.

*The Country of the Blind.* By George S. Counts and Nucia Lodge. Houghton Mifflin. $4.

*No Cause for Alarm.* By Virginia Cowles. Harper. $3.75.

*Behind the Curtain.* By John Gunther. Harper. $3.

*The Struggle for Germany.* By Drew Middleton. Bobbs-Merrill. $3.

*Socialist Britain.* By Francis Williams. Viking. $3.

*The State of Europe.* By Howard F. Smith. Knopf. $3.75.

*A History of Spain.* By Rafael Altamira. Translated by Muna Lee. Van Nostrand. $6.75.

*English Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century.* By Crane Brinton. Harvard. $4.50.

*The Fateful Years.* Memoirs of a French Ambassador in Berlin, 1931-1938. By André François-Poncet. Harcourt, Brace. $4.

*Liberalism and the Challenge of Fascism.* By J. Salwyn Schapiro. McGraw-Hill. $5.

*Men in Crisis.* The Revolution of 1848. By Arnold Whitridge. Scribner's. $5.

*The Rome-Berlin Axis.* By Elizabeth Wiskemann. Oxford. $5.

*China Shakes the World.* By Jack Belden. Harper. $5.

*The Family Revolution in Modern China.* By Marion J. Levy, Jr. Harvard. $6.

*The Chinese Conquer China.* By Anna Louise Strong. Doubleday. $3.

*History of Chinese Society, Liao (907-1125).* By Karl A. Wittfogel and Fêng Chia-Shêng. Macmillan. $12.50.

*Japan—Enemy or Ally?* By W. Macmahon Ball. Asia Book. John Day. $3.

*Prospects for Democracy in Japan.* By T. A. Bisson. Macmillan. $2.75.

*Japan's Economy in War and Reconstruction.* By Jerome Cohen. Institute of Pacific Relations and University of Minnesota Press. $7.50.

*The Case of General Yamashita.* By A. Frank Reel. Chicago. $4.

*The Situation in Asia.* By Owen Lattimore. Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown. $2.75.

*Ferment in the Far East.* By Mary A. Nourse. Bobbs-Merrill. $3.75.

*In Search of a Future.* Persia, Egypt, Iraq, and Palestine. By Maurice Hindus. Doubleday. $3.

*Promise and Fulfilment.* By Arthur Koestler. Macmillan. $4.

*Arabian Oil: America's Stake in the Middle East.* By Raymond F. Mikesell and Hollis B. Chenery. North Carolina. $3.50.

*Turkey: An Economic Appraisal.* By Max Weston Thornburg, Graham Spry, and George Soule. Twentieth Century Fund. $3.50.

*Halfway to Freedom.* By Margaret Bourke-White. Simon and Schuster. $3.50.

AMERICA, PUBLIC AFFAIRS, HISTORY

*Our Sovereign State.* By Robert S. Allen. Vanguard. $5.

*The World's Best Hope.* By Francis Biddle. Chicago. $3.50.

*American Freedom and Catholic Power.* By Paul Blanshard. Beacon Press. $3.50.

*American Themes.* By D. W. Brogan. Harper. $3.50.

*Congress on Trial.* By James MacGregor Burns. Harper. $3.

*U. S. A. Measure of a Nation.* By Thomas R. Carskadon and Rudolf Modley. Prepared by the Twentieth Century Fund. Macmillan. $1.

*Meat and Man: A Study of Monopoly, Unionism, and Food Policy.* By Lewis Corey. Viking. $4.50.

NOW AVAILABLE
in the first American edition since 1857:
THE CONFIDENCE-MAN:
HIS MASQUERADE
By HERMAN MELVILLE
$1.25
"It is a real pleasure . . . to note the republication of 'The Confidence-Man,' the least understood, the most despised, the most readily scanted of Melville's books." —Leslie Fiedler in *The Nation*
*To be published December 15:*
THE VERSE IN ENGLISH of RICHARD CRASHAW
$1.25
". . . having read him twice or thrice, I find him one of those whose works may just deserve that trouble." —Alexander Pope
*1949-50 bulletin on request*
THE GROVE PRESS
18 GROVE STREET NEW YORK CITY 14

FROM BAUDELAIRE TO SURREALISM
by Marcel Raymond. First English translation, 448 pages, 8 illustrations, paper bound $3.75, cloth bound $5.00
A history of modern French Poetry published as volume 10 of "The Documents of Modern Art"
As well as many other domestic and foreign art books, portfolios, prints to be inspected and purchased at
WITTENBORN & CO.
38 EAST 57th STREET
(4th floor), New York 22, N. Y. PL 3-8890

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*Negroes in American Society.* By Maurice R. Davie. Whittlesey House. $6.
*Labor in America: A History.* By Foster Rhea Dulles. Crowell. $4.50.
*The Negro in the United States.* By E. Franklin Frazier. Macmillan. $8.
*Saving American Capitalism.* Edited by Seymour Harris. Knopf. $4.
*The UAW and Walter Reuther.* By Irving Howe and B. J. Widick. Random House. $3.
*Southern Politics in State and Nation.* By V. O. Key, Jr. Knopf. $6.
*Left, Right & Center.* Conflicting Forces in American Labor. By Sidney Lens. Regnery. $4.
*This I Do Believe.* By David E. Lilienthal. Harper. $2.50.
*California: The Great Exception.* By Carey McWilliams. Wyn. $4.
*North from Mexico.* The Spanish-speaking People of the United States. By Carey McWilliams. Lippincott. $4.
*America Divided.* By Arnold and Caroline Rose. Knopf. $4.
*The Negro's Morale.* By Arnold Rose. Minnesota. $2.50.
*Strategy for Liberals.* The Politics of the Mixed Economy. By Irwin Ross. Harper. $3.
*The Vital Center.* By Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Houghton Mifflin. $3.
*Killers of the Dream.* By Lillian Smith. Norton. $3.
*In the Land of Jim Crow.* By Ray Sprigle. Simon and Schuster. $2.50.
*Living with Crisis.* By Fritz Sternberg. John Day. $2.50.
*Target: You.* By Leland Stowe. Knopf. $3.
*Partners in Production.* A Basis for Labor-Management Understanding. A Report by the Labor Committee of the Twentieth Century Fund, Assisted by Osgood Nichols. Twentieth Century Fund. $1.50.

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE USSR
Just Arrived! I. V. MICHURIN
SELECTED WORKS IN AGRICULTURAL SCIENCE
In English — 496 pp. — $2.75
Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts
1950 SUBSCRIPTIONS OPEN FOR ALL SOVIET NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES
Ask for Complete Catalogue "P-49"
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MU 8-2660

Your Book Ms.
If interesting, we can publish and promote it effectively. For free booklet write Dept. C.
VANTAGE PRESS, Inc.
35 So. William St., New York 4

OUT-OF-PRINT and HARD-TO-FIND books supplied; also genealogies, incomplete sets, completed, periodical back numbers, etc. All subjects, all languages. Send us your list of book-wants — no obligation. We report quickly. Lowest prices. (*We also supply all current books at publishers' prices postpaid.*)
AMERICAN LIBRARY SERVICE
117 West 48th Street, Dept. N, New York 19, N. Y.
P.S. We also buy books & magazines. Send us your list.

*Farthest Frontier.* The Pacific Northwest. By Sidney Warren. Macmillan. $4.50.
*How Secure These Rights?* By Ruth G. Weintraub. Doubleday. $2.
*John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy.* By Samuel Flagg Bemis. Knopf. $7.50.
*Westward Expansion.* By Ray Allen Billington with the Collaboration of James Blaine Hedges. Macmillan. $8.50.
*They Also Believe.* A Study of Modern American Cults and Minority Religious Movements. By Charles Samuel Braden. Macmillan. $6.
*The Western Reserve.* By Harlan Hatcher. Bobbs-Merrill. $4.
*The Golden Threads.* New England's Mill Girls and Magnates. By Hannah Josephson. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. $3.75.
*They Came Here First.* The Epic of the American Indian. By D'Arcy McNickle. Lippincott. $3.50.
*The Violent Men.* By Cornelia Meigs. Macmillan. $4.
*Not So Long Ago.* By Lloyd Morris. Random House. $5.
*The Hours and the Ages.* A Sequence of Americans. By Edward Nicholas. Sloane. $3.50.
*Upon This Continent.* A New Chronicle of America. By Abel Plenn. Creative Age. $3.50.
*Paths to the Present.* By Arthur M. Schlesinger. Macmillan. $4.
*The Devil in Massachusetts.* A Modern Inquiry into the Salem Witch Trials. By Marion L. Starkey. Knopf. $3.50.

### LATIN AMERICA

*The Awakening Valley.* By John Collier, Jr. and Anibal Buitrón. Chicago. $6.
*The Americas: The Search for Hemisphere Security.* By Laurence Duggan, with Notes by Marshall Wolfe. Holt. $3.
*The Condor and the Cows.* By Christopher Isherwood. Random House. $3.50.

### ECONOMICS, TECHNOLOGY

*Money in a Maelstrom.* By J. W. Beyen. Macmillan. $3.25.
*Guideposts in Time of Change.* By John Maurice Clark. Harper. $3.
*The Economic Mind in American Civilization.* Vol.III. *1865-1918.* By Joseph Dorfman. Viking. $6.
*Monetary Management.* By E. A. Goldenweiser. McGraw-Hill. $2.75.
*Economic Planning.* The Plans of Fourteen Countries with Analyses of the Plans. By Seymour E. Harris. Knopf. $4.50.
*Constructive Uses of Atomic Energy.* Edited by S. C. Rothman. Harper. $3.
*Wealth and Welfare.* The Backgrounds of American Economics. By Norman Ware. Sloane. $2.50.
*A Charter for World Trade.* By Clair Wilcox. Macmillan. $4.50.
*Backgrounds of Power.* The Human Story of Mass Production. By Roger Burlingame. Scribner's. $5.
*New Worlds Emerging.* By Earl Parker Hanson. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. $3.50.

### PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CRITICISM

*The City of Reason.* By Samuel H. Beer. Harvard. $4.
*The Philosophy of Ernst Cassirer.* Edited by Paul Arthur Schilpp. Library of Living Philosophers. Northwestern University. $6.
*Studies in Philosophy and Science.* By Morris R. Cohen. Holt. $4.50.
*Knowing and the Known.* By John Dewey and Arthur F. Bentley. Beacon Press. $4.
*Modern Science and Its Philosophy.* By Philipp Frank. Harvard. $4.50.
*Faith and History.* By Reinhold Niebuhr. Scribner's. $3.50.
*Theory of Probability.* By Hans Reichenbach. California. $12.50.
*Evolution and the Founders of Pragmatism.* By Philip P. Wiener. Harvard. $5.

*The Universe of Dr. Einstein.* By Lincoln Barnett. Sloane. $2.50.
*The Conquest of Space.* Paintings by Chesley Bonestell and Text by Willy Ley. Viking. $3.95.
*The Unitary Principle in Physics and Biology.* By Lancelot Law Whyte. Holt. $3.50.

*The Neurosis of Man.* By Trigant Burrow. Harcourt, Brace. $7.50.
*An Outline of Psychoanalysis.* By Sigmund Freud. Norton. $2.
*Male and Female: A Study of the Sexes in a Changing World.* By Margaret Mead. Morrow. $5.
*Community Under Stress.* An Internment Camp Culture. By Elizabeth Head Vaughan. Princeton. $2.50.
*The Power of Freedom.* By Max Ascoli. Farrar, Straus. $2.75.
*The Pilgrimage of Western Man.* By Stringfellow Barr. Harcourt, Brace. $4.
*On Power: Its Nature and the History of Its Growth.* By Bertrand de Jouvenel. Viking. $5.
*Notes Towards the Definition of Culture.* By T. S. Eliot. Harcourt, Brace. $2.50.
*Courts on Trial.* By Jerome Frank. Princeton. $5.
*Education of Free Men.* By Horace M. Kallen. Farrar, Straus. $5.
*Trade Unions in the New Society.* By Harold J. Laski. Viking. $3.
*Authority and the Individual.* By Bertrand Russell. Simon and Schuster. $2.
*Patterns of Anti-Democratic Thought.* By David Spitz. Macmillan. $4.50.
*Equality.* By David Thomson. Cambridge University. $1.25.
*Social Thought in America.* By Morton G. White. Viking. $3.50.

### AUTOBIOGRAPHY, JOURNALS, LETTERS, BIOGRAPHY

*Sketch for a Self-Portrait.* By Bernard Berenson. Pantheon. $3.
*A Dreamer's Journey.* The Autobiography of Morris Raphael Cohen. Beacon Press and Free Press. $4.
*The Recollections of Alexis de Tocqueville.* Translated by Alexander Texeira de Mat-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tos. Edited with an Introduction by J. P. Mayer. Columbia. $5.

*The Diary of a Writer.* By F. M. Dostoevsky. Translated and Annotated by Boris Brasol. Scribner's. $12.50.

*Union Guy.* By Clayton W. Fountain. Viking. $2.75.

*Come One, Come All.* By Don Freeman. Rinehart. $3.50.

*The Journals of André Gide.* Volume III: 1928-1939. Translated and Annotated by Justin O'Brien. Knopf. $6.

*Goethe's Autobiography.* Poetry and Truth. Public Affairs Press. $5.

*Education of a Humanist.* By Albert Guérard. Harvard. $5.

*Death Be Not Proud.* A Memoir by John Gunther. Harper. $2.50.

*Oath of Devotion.* By Julius Isaacs. Dutton. $4.50.

*The Diaries of Franz Kafka, 1914-1923.* Edited by Max Brod. Schocken. $3.75.

*A Writer's Notebook.* By W. Somerset Maugham. Doubleday. $4.

*From Day to Day.* By Odd Nansen. Putnam's. $5.

*Inishfallen, Fare Thee Well.* By Sean O'Casey. Macmillan. $4.75.

*The Letters of Marcel Proust.* Selected and Translated by Mina Curtiss. Random House. $5.

*This I Remember.* By Eleanor Roosevelt. Harper. $4.50.

*Out of My Life and Thought.* An Autobiography by Albert Schweitzer. Holt. $3.50.

*Sixteen Self Sketches.* By Bernard Shaw. Dodd, Mead. $3.50.

*Out of Exile.* By Soetan Sjahrir. John Day. An Asia Book. $3.

*Benefits Forgot.* By G. B. Stern. Macmillan. $3.50.

*An Autobiography and Other Essays.* By G. M. Trevelyan. Longmans, Green. $3.50.

*The Love Letters of Mark Twain.* Edited by Dixon Wecter. Harper. $5.

*The Set of the Sails.* An Autobiography by Alan Villiers. Scribner's. $3.75.

*Trial and Error.* The Autobiography of Chaim Weizmann. Harper. $5.

*Challenging Years.* The Autobiography of Stephen Wise. Putnam's. $4.

*Days with Bernard Shaw.* By Stephen Winsten. Vanguard. $3.75.

*The Great Pierpont Morgan.* By Frederick Lewis Allen. Harper. $3.50.

*Lydia Pinkham Is Her Name.* By Jean Burton. Farrar, Straus. $2.75.

*Confucius: The Man and the Myth.* By H. G. Creel. John Day. $5.

*Stalin.* A Political Biography. By I. Deutscher. Oxford. $5.

*Stalin & Co.* The Politburo—The Men Who Run Russia. By Walter Duranty. Sloane Associates. $3.

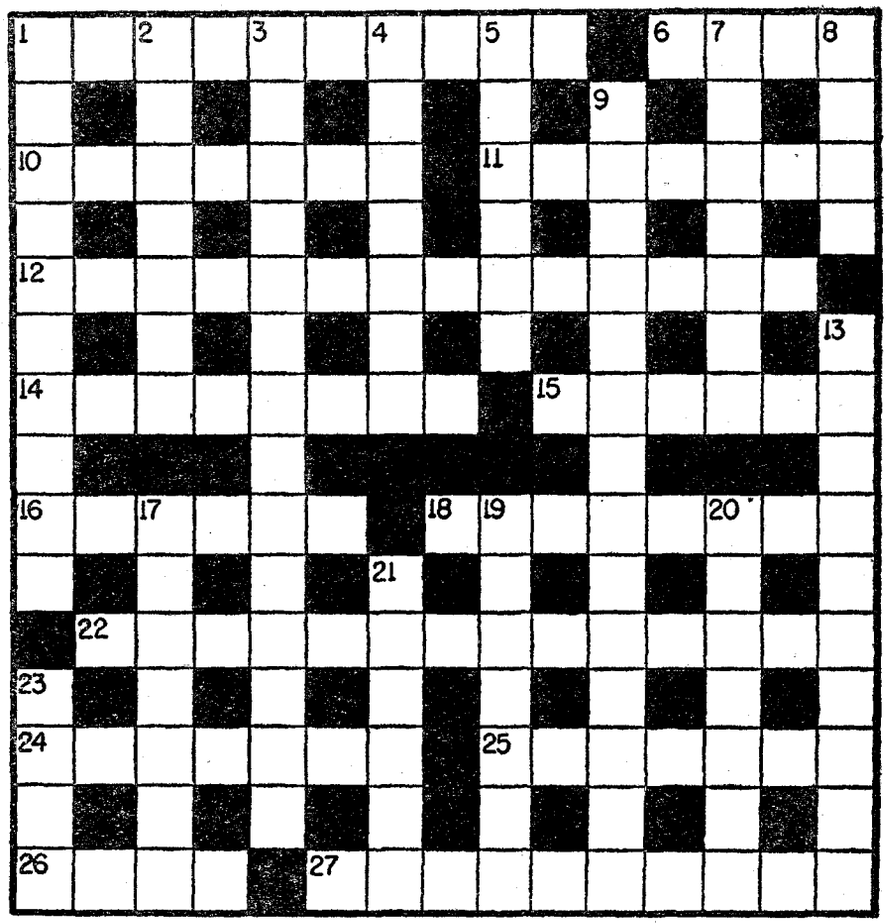
*Mr. Justice Black:* The Man and His Opinions. By John P. Frank. Knopf. $4.

*The Bending Cross.* A Biography of Eugene Victor Debs. By Ray Ginger. Rutgers. $5.

*The Universe of G. B. S.* By William Irvine. Whittlesey House. $5.

# Crossword Puzzle No. 339

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



## ACROSS

1 Stylist of a tie in Cuba. (10)
6 Employer, but not quite certain of it. (4)
10 If you make a 19 you might take such a stand. (7)
11 Strange stones. (7)
12 Summer-time, perhaps. (14) (hyphenated)
14 Sort of spy that's late-keeping. (8)
15 Priestly circle. (6)
16 There's a girl for you! (6)
18 Agree to make money before the dice gets shaken. (8)
22 *Washington Merry-go-round* on the books? (7, 7)
24 The Emperor's were new. (7)
25 Strangely enough, not necessarily the Roman type. (7)
26 Musa Dagh had 40. (4)
27 It makes the purser lend change to robbers. (10)

## DOWN

1 They consist mostly of the square type, sometimes of the round, and occasionally of the couple. (4, 6)
2 Does he try to appraise? (7)
3 Fun in Istanbul? (7, 7)
4 Attic amphora must have contained it. (7)
5 Rich merchantman—incorrectly associated with Jason. (6)
7 Recommended stuff for ambition. (7)
8 6 isn't headed right for the trap. (4)
9 Migratory bird? (9, 5)
13 Its scent is often found in laboratories. (10)
17 For those who prefer hot-pots. (3-4)
19 Speech of Ontario. (7)
20 Useless, that is until broken inside. (7)
21 Likely to be found at the top of the stalk one way, less at the other. (6)
23 This test is critical. (4)

* * *

**SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 338**

ACROSS:—1 DRAKE; 4 BAS-RELIEF; 9 MUSTACHIO; 10 EXTOL; 11 GREATCOAT; 12 LOIRE; 13 SOMERSAULT; 17 THREADBARE; 21 CITED; 22 CLEPSYDRA; 23 AWASH; 24 OHMMETERS; 25 OUTSPOKEN; 26 TASTE.

DOWN:—1 DAMAGE; 2 ANSWER; 3 EXACTS; 4 BY HOOK OR BY CROOK; 5 STOUT-HEARTED MEN; 6 EYEGLASS; 7 INTRIGUE; 8 FALSETTO; 14 STACCATO; 15 PROTRACT; 16 HARDSHIP; 18 ASSENT; 19 ADDERS; 20 PARSEE.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RESORTS

50 MI. FROM NEW YORK
MAMANASCO Lake Lodge
Ridgefield, Conn. • Phone 820
Reopening for our Gala Tenth Holiday and Winter Season. Skating on mile-long lake. Other seasonal sports. Open fireplaces, television and varied indoor recreations. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Moderate Rates. Make early reservations for Christmas–New Year's Holidays.

. . . enjoy WINTER VACATION
NEW COCKTAIL LOUNGE
MONROE 4421
OPEN ALL YEAR HOTEL
Zindorest
MONROE, NEW YORK

Green Acres
LODGE
CENTRAL VALLEY, N. Y.
45 miles from New York City
Sports • Music & Book Library • Dancing
Open All Year Round
Telephone: HIGHLAND MILLS 3071

BREEZEMONT PARK
ARMONK N.Y.
REOPENING for the CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS
35 MILES FROM NEW YORK CITY
"A Country Estate in the Scenic Hills of Westchester County"
The nearest of all nearby resorts. Exclusive location. Luxuriously furnished. Dignified. All sports activities. Excellent cuisine.
Phone Armonk Village 955 & 762

Forest House achieves new levels of relaxation and happiness during this most glorious season. Superb cusine, fine accomodations, genial hospitality. All sports. Two grand lakes.
50 MILES from N. Y. C.
FOREST HOUSE
LAKE MAHOPAC, N.Y. - Tel. MAHOPAC 688

BOOKS

$1.00 BRINGS YOU FOUR complete Howard Fast novels: Citizen Tom Paine, The Unvanquished, Conceived in Liberty, Freedom Road. Address: BOOK MAIL SERVICE, Hempstead, N. Y.

PIONEER IN COMMUNITY: Henri Lasserre's Contribution to the Fully Cooperative Society. By Watson Thomson. (Foreword by Henrik Infield.) Impressions of Llano Colony, Cotswold Bruderhof, Columbia Conserve Co., contemporary community movements, etc. $2 postpaid. Robert Owen Foundation, 264 St. Clair Ave. West, Toronto, Canada.

LITERARY SERVICE

TRANSLATION AND RESEARCH in 30 languages by European specialists in all fields. American Committee for Emigre Scholars, Dept. N, 66 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. ORegon 5-3121.

XMAS GIFT

IDEAL GIFT—PERSONALIZED CIGARETTE BOX. Genuine leather, tooled and initialed in 22-K Gold. Holds 80 regular or 72 king cigarettes. In brown, green, red, wine. $5.95 postpaid. Dover Briars, Dept A, 1470 Prospect Pl., Brooklyn 13, N. Y.

Classified Advertising Rate
74¢ a line—6 words
(3-line minimum)
Classified Display: $7.42 per inch
Remittance Must Accompany All Orders
The NATION
20 Vesey St. N. Y. C. 7 BA 7-1066

*Heywood Broun.* By Dale Kramer. Wyn. $3.50.

*Beaumarchais.* By Georges Lemaitre. Knopf. $4.

*Chief Justice.* John Marshall and the Growth of the Republic. By David Loth. Norton. $5.

*"Young Hickory."* The Life and Times of President James K. Polk. By Martha McBride Morrel. Dutton. $4.50.

*Lincoln's Secretary.* A Biography of John G. Nicolay. By Helen Nicolay. Longmans, Green. $5.

*Benjamin Constant.* By Harold Nicolson. Doubleday. $4.

*The Medici.* By Ferdinand Schevill. Harcourt, Brace. $4.

*Lead, Kindly Light.* Gandhi and the Way to Peace. By Vincent Sheean. Random House. $3.75.

*W. C. Fields: His Follies and Fortunes.* By Robert Lewis Taylor. Doubleday. $3.50.

*Conservatism Revisited.* The Revolt Against Revolt, 1815-1949. By Peter Viereck. Scribner's. $2.50.

*Giant in Gray.* A Biography of Wade Hampton of South Carolina. By Manly Wade Wellman. Scribner's. $5.

*John C. Calhoun, Nullifier,* 1829-1839. By Charles M. Wiltse. Bobbs-Merrill. $6.

*Sweeper in the Sky.* The Life of Maria Mitchell. By Helen Wright. Macmillan. $4.

[*The second part of this list will appear next week.*]

## CONTRIBUTORS

STEPHEN SPENDER is the author of "The Edge of Being," "Poems of Dedication," and other books.

RAYMOND SWING, former radio commentator, is the author of "How War Came."

IRWIN EDMAN, professor of philosophy at Columbia University, is the author of "Arts and the Man," "Philosopher's Holiday," "Philosopher's Quest," and other books.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH, Brander Matthews professor of dramatic literature at Columbia University and drama critic of *The Nation*, is the author of a critical biography of Thoreau and other books.

RALPH BATES is the author of "Rainbow Fish," "The Fields of Paradise," and other books.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR., associate professor of history at Harvard, is the author of "The Vital Center."

Several reviews scheduled for this week omitted for lack of space will appear in coming issues.

RESORTS

ARE YOU ON YOUR CHRISTMAS LIST?
Treat Yourself To A Splendid Winter Vacation!
WINTER SPORTS . . . . . .
. . PAINTING & CRAFTS . . . .
. . . . ENTERTAINMENT STAFF
OPENS DEC. 23
Easy To Reach by Bus, Train, or door-to-door Taxi Service
Write For Free Brochure
CHESTERS ZUMBARG
WOODBOURNE, N. Y. Tel. WOODBOURNE 1150

PLUM POINT
on the majestic Hudson
• seasonal sports
• delicious food
• gay informality
55 MILES FROM NYC • NEW WINDSOR, NY

Only 53 Miles to
OAKWOOD
New Windsor, N. Y. Newburgh 4477
Informal colonial estate. Private lake.
Sports, Fireplace, TV. Superb Meals.
Reserve Now for Holidays. Dec. 23-Jan 3
N. Y. Phone ES 5-6632, 9-12 AM, 6-8 PM

YOU BELONG AT THE NEW
Glenmere
(PRIVATE GOLF COURSE)
the GLENMERE, chester, n. y.
Phones: Chester 200 N. Y. REctor 2-5041

MEXICO ACCOMMODATIONS

ESCAPE winter in flower-lined, fogless, frostless Cuernavaca. Cosy homespun apartments $45 mo. up furnished; houses $65 up. Ken Beldin, Salinas 14-n, Cuernavaca, Mexico. (Also ask for list of available sound 10% first mortgages.)

FARMS & ACREAGE

9 SPACIOUS ROOMS: bath; heat, barn, henhouse, 20 acres, fine trout brook. Charming setting, excellent condition throughout. 6 miles to Tanglewood. $11,000. Berkshire Farm Agency, Lenox, Mass.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee $3.00.

RECORDS

NATIVE FOLK MUSIC from many lands. Recordings with illustrated manual. Ethnic Folkways Library, 117 W. 46th Street, N. Y. C.

WEARING APPAREL

SIMPLE, SMARTLY TAILORED SUITS, DRESSES, COATS. Sensible prices. Pleasant shopping conditions for busy career women. Miss Goodman, 362 Lexington Ave. (Near 41st St.) N. Y. C. MU 5-0670.


Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Unhackneyed Way to Handle Christmas....

THINKING up Thoughtful Gifts can be an arduous business, as you know. By the time you've eliminated the stuff your friends (a) have, (b) don't want, and (c) would like but you can't afford, your area of choice has been whittled down pretty fine.

• That's where THE NATION comes in.

• THE NATION is 52 fine gifts for the price of one—a new gift every week from one year's end to the other. It's thoughtful, thought-provoking, uniquely informative, consistently interesting; a most satisfying gift to give as well as to receive.

• Another thing. Every new NATION reader means one more for Our Side—a welcome addition to the ranks of independent liberalism. How else can you accomplish so much for only five dollars?

• You send in the coupons and we'll send out the gift cards. Why not get it done right away?

## GIFT ORDER FORM

THE NATION ASSOCIATES, Inc.
Twenty Vesey Street • New York 7, N. Y.

Dear Nation: Please send gift subscriptions of one year of The Nation to my friends as indicated below, at the special gift rate of $5 each.

☐ Also renew my own subscription to The Nation at the regular rate for _____ years.
☐ Don't renew my subscription now.
☐ Remittance inclosed. ☐ Please bill me.

My Name is_____

Street_____

City_____

Zone & State_____

Regular Subscription Rates:
One Year $7 • Two Years $12 • Three Years $17
*For Foreign and Canadian subscriptions add $1.00 a year.*

## LIST GIFT SUBSCRIPTIONS HERE

Name_____
Street_____
City_____ Zone & State_____
Gift Card should read from _____
☐ Send Gift Card to me for mailing.

Name_____
Street_____
City_____ Zone & State_____
Gift Card should read from _____
☐ Send Gift Card to me for mailing.

Name_____
Street_____
City_____ Zone & State_____
Gift Card should read from _____
☐ Send Gift Card to me for mailing.

Name_____
Street_____
City_____ Zone & State_____
Gift Card should read from _____
☐ Send Gift Card to me for mailing.

12/3/49

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Never before has THE VIKING PRESS offered for your selection a list so well reviewed and so well received

**The SAMUEL PUTNAM translation of a timeless classic is the literary event of the year.** "... generally and authoritatively hailed as the finest yet done in English."—JOHN K. HUTCHENS, *Herald Tribune*

2 vols., boxed, $10

## *Cervantes'* DON QUIXOTE

**HENRY GREEN's odd and delightful novel** has been the surprise success of the year. "... one of the top literary dividends of 1949."—CHARLES ROLO, *The Atlantic* $3.00

## LOVING

**JOHN RUSKIN,** the portrait of a prophet, is a penetrating study of a genius. *Illus.* $3.75

*by Peter Quennell*

**CALL IT TREASON,** the $15,000 prize novel, is "... terrific story telling." —WILLIAM MCFEE, *N. Y. Sun.* $3.00

*by George Howe*

**AN ALPHABET FOR GOURMETS** Food and drink in their most beguiling aspects. *Ill.* $3.00

*M. F. K. Fisher*

**CREAM HILL,** the delightful discoveries of a weekend countryman. *Illus.* $3.50

*by Lewis Gannett*

**DEATH OF A SALESMAN,** the Broadway smash-hit. $2.50

*by Arthur Miller*

**O SHEPHERD, SPEAK!** ends the famous LANNY BUDD series. $3.50

*by Upton Sinclair*

**THE SECOND CONFESSION,** Nero Wolfe in his newest novel—and at his best. $2.50

*by Rex Stout*

**RUMER GODDEN's first work of poetry,** an enchanting new myth about a lonely Pegasus and his disturbing effect on the legendary survivors of the Flood. $2.50

## IN NOAH'S ARK

**BEMELMANS' new novel,** his first since *Dirty Eddie*, is a captivating tale of his beloved Tyrol and its people—simple and sinister. "... undoubtedly Bemelmans' best novel to date."—STERLING NORTH, *N. Y. World-Telegram.* Endpapers in four colors by Bemelmans. $3.00

## THE EYE OF GOD

**MILTON RUGOFF's fine editing** provides more than 200 stories. "... the most readable general collection of folk tales I have ever seen ... a book for the whole family to enjoy."—BEN C. CLOUGH, *Providence Journal.*

768 pages *Illus.* $3.95

A Harvest of World

## FOLK TALES

**WILLY LEY's text and CHESLEY BONESTELL's amazing pictures** explore the nearby universe via spaceship in this outstanding science book. 48 illustrations, 16 in full color. $3.95

## The CONQUEST OF SPACE

**ELMER RICE's big, dramatic novel** of the theater and its unpredictable people. "As delightful as the Broadway opening night of a hit show." —*Newsweek*

472 pages $3.50

## THE SHOW MUST GO ON

THE VIKING PRESS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED